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AŚOKAN INSCRIPTIONS IN INDIA

(A Linguistic Study, together with an exhaustive Bibliography)

Being the Pandit Bhagwanlal Indarji
Gold Medal Essay, 1943

BY

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Respectfully Dedicated

to

Professor H. D. Velankar

PREFACE

The present essay was written for the Bhagawanlal Indraji Gold Medal and Prize Competition of the year 1943, and was subsequently awarded the said medal and prize. The title of the essay for the competition was given as "The Aśokan Inscriptions in India" and the choice of the specific view point from which these inscriptions were to be studied was left to the competitor The inscriptions of Aśoka have a perennial interest for a research scholar and during the past century or so they have been studied by research scholars from different points of view The monumental work of HULTZSCH in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol I (New Edition) gives excellent texts and translations of all Aśokan inscriptions save the recently discovered versions of the Minor Rock Edict at Kopbāḷ and Yerrāguḍi HULTZSCH's work again has brought the palaeographic study of the inscriptions to a very high level and his readings leave little room for improvement The other aspects which arise from these inscriptions, such as the empire of Aśoka and its administration, his personal religion and the Dhamma which he preached, the social and economic life of the people in the days of Aśoka, the forms of speech current in his days in the different parts of the country, have also been mostly dealt with I have therefore tried to give in the following pages only the linguistic study of the inscriptions The originality in the approach is contained in the study of these inscriptions on the comparative basis of Historical Linguistics The first part of the Essay is devoted to the linguistic study and the second part comprises the Aśokan Bibliography I have tried to make it as exhaustive as possible and have also given the nature of the contents of each entry in the Bibliography

But for the help that I received from the University of Bombay it would have been extremely difficult for me to publish this work. I am therefore greatly indebted to the University of Bombay for undertaking the publication of the essay

Navsari M A MEHENDALE
Date May 15, 1946

P.S —I am also to thank the authorities of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, for kindly permitting me to reproduce the first chapter of my another work on the 'Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits' published under the auspices of the Institute

M A M

ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology
ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
ALOC	All India Oriental Conference
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AO	Acta Orientalia
AR	Asiatic Review
Aś.	Aśoka(n).
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
ASSI	Archaeological Survey of Southern India
ASWI	Archaeological Survey of Western India
b	Bairāṭ Minor Rock Edict
bb	Barābar Cave Inscriptions
BDCRI	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute
bh	Bairāṭ-Bhābrū (Calcutta-Bairāṭ) Minor Rock Edict
BLSI	Indian Linguistics Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India
br	Brahmagiri Minor Rock Edict
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
BVP	Bhāratīya Vidyā Patrikā
CHI	Cambridge History of India.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
COJ	Calcutta Oriental Journal
D	Dhauli Rock Edict
d	Dhauli Separate Edict
EI	Epigraphia Indica
G	Girnār Rock Edict
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
H	Hemacandra
Hlz	Hultzsch Inscriptions of Aśoka (CII, Vol I)
IA	Indian Antiquary
IC	Indo-European
IE	Indo-Germanische Forschungen
IF	Indian Historical Quarterly
IHQ	Jaugaḍa Rock Edict
J	Jaugaḍa Separate Edict
j	Journal Asiatique
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAHRS	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society
JBHS	Journal of the Bombay Historical Society
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JDL	Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.
	Journal of Indian History

JOR	Journal of Oriental Research
JPASB	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JPTS	Journal of the Pālī Text Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
jtr	Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara Minor Rock Edict
JUB	Journal of the University of Bombay
JUPHS	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Research Society.
K	Kālsī Rock Edict
kb	Allahabad-Kauśāmbī Pillar Edict (Minor)
kpb	Kopbāḷ Minor Rock Edict
kq	Queen's Edict—Allahabad-Kauśāmbī Pillar
Ksb	Allahabad-Kauśāmbī Pillar Edict
L	Lüders' List of Prakrit Inscriptions, appended to Ep Ind 10
M	Mānsehrā Rock Edict
Mi	Delhi-Mīraṭh Pillar Edict
MI-A	Middle Indo-Aryan
mk	Minor Rock Edict(s)
MRE	Mathia Pillar Edict (Lauṛiya-Nandangaṛh)
Mth	Nigālī Sāgar Minor Pillar Edict
ng	New Indian Antiquary
NIA	Nāgarī Prachāraṇī Patrikā
NPP	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OLZ	Pillar Edict(s)
PE	Quarterly of the Andhra Historical Society
QARS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
QJMS	Radhia Pillar Edict (Lauriya-Ararāj)
Rdh	Rock Edict(s)
RE	Rummindēī Minor Pillar Edict
ZII	Rāmpūrvā Pillar Edict
rm	Rūpnāth Minor Rock Edict
ru	Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock Edict
S	Sahasrām Minor Rock Edict
s	Sacred Books of the East
SBE	Sāñcī Minor Pillar Edict
sc	Śddāpur Minor Rock Edict
sd	Sanskrit
Sk	Sārnāth Minor Pillar Edict
sn	Sopārā Rock Edict
So	Sitzungsberichte der Koniglich Preuss Ak der Wissenschaften
SPAW	Delhi-Toprā Pillar Edict.
T	Transactions of the American Philological Association
TAPA	Vararuci
V	Vienna Oriental Journal
yr	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
WZKM	Yerrāguḍi Minor Rock Edict
VOJ	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik

INTRODUCTION

So much has been written, revised, and re-written on the subject of Aśokan inscriptions that it hardly needs lifting one's pen to point out any further the importance of the subject. As the oldest dated records in Prakrits, their importance for a historical study of MI-A languages can never be overrated. Again almost as the first lines of any text to be put down in writing and preserved in India, the singularity of these inscriptions has been well appreciated Their value for the reconstruction of the political history of ancient India is contained in the fact that they yield some useful dates and events in the life of the great monarch Aśoka For the early history of Buddhism, its diffusion in the distant corners of the Emperor's vast territories, for the missionary activities which he carried on in the cause of the "Law of Piety" he purported to enunciate, these inscriptons read as a gospel And with the few colours regarding the social conditions that are preserved in these edicts can also be drawn a picture of the contemporary society

These are some of the various aspects from which the inscriptions of Aśoka could be studied Within the limit of a hundred foolscap pages prescribed for the competitive essay it is impossible to do full justice to all these aspects Moreover with some of the biographical sketches of the life and career of Aśoka and the publication of the "Inscriptions of Aśoka" in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol I (new edn.) almost all these aspects have been ably and fully studied (see note on Bibliography, Part II, pp 95 9) The present attempt is, therefore, restricted to a linguistic study of these inscriptions from a comparative view point of historical linguistics

If we were to take into consideration the dates when some of the edicts were first discovered then the history of the study of these inscriptions may be said to stretch over two centuries For, the honour of the discovery of the Delhi pillar goes to Padre Tieffenthaler who gathered the fragments of the pillar somewhere about 1750 The activity which was started at that stage was fruitfully carried on by numerous enthusiasts and it is needless to recount all the dates when the different records were first discovered Yet the real study of these inscriptions must be regarded to have commenced when James Princep first unveiled roughly in the middle of the nineteenth century the mystery which overhang the art of deciphering these inscriptions Learned scholars who followed in his wake contributed their share at every stage to make available to the readers a more correct text and translation of these inscriptions It is on the basis of the efforts of these early scholars that we have to base the edifice of our linguistic study to-day

The present monograph includes all the available inscriptions of Aśoka[1] the versions of the fourteen Major Rock Edicts found at Girnar, a mile to the East of Junāgaḍh in the Kāṭhiāwār Peninsula, at Shāhabāzgarhī, nine miles from Mardān, the headquarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshawar Dt, and at Mānsehrā, the headquarters of a tahsil in the Hazārā Dt, both in N W.F. Province, at Kālsi, in the Chakrātā tahsil in the Dehra Dun Dt, U P, at Dhauli in the Khurda subdivision of

1 For their geographical distribution see the map

the Purī Dt, Orissa, at Jaugaḍa, in the Berhampur tāluka of the Ganjam Dt., Orissa, the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, the fragment of the VIIIth Rock Edict discovered at Sopārā in the Bassein Taluka of Thānā Dist, Bombay, the sets of Pillar Edicts found at Delhi-Toprā, the village Tobra where the pillar originally stood being identified with Töprā on the direct line between Ambala and Sirsāvā, 22 miles to the South-West of Khizrābād, at Delhi-Mīrath, the village Mīrath being the present headquarters of the Meerut district in the U P, at Lauriya-Ararāj, formerly known as Radhia Pillar, in the Champaran Dt, N Bihar, at Lauriya-Nandangarh, once known as Mathia Pillar, in the same district of Bihar, at Rāmpūrvā, again in the same district of Bihar, at Allahabad Kauśāmbī, the latter being identified with modern Kosam, about 28 miles West by South from Allahabad this same pillar has on the face of it the so-called "*Queen's Edict*" and the so-called "*Kauśāmbī Edict*" (minor), besides the first six of the seven Major Pillar Edicts, the texts of the Minor Pillar Edicts discovered at Sāñci, an ancient cite in the Bhopal State in Central India, at Sārnāth, about 3 miles to the North of Benares, at Rummindei, about 13 miles South-East of Nigālī Sāgar Pillar in the Nepalese Tarai and about 5 miles to the North-East of Dulhā in the British Dt. of Basti in the U P, at Nigalī Sāgar, about a mile South of Niglīvā, belonging to the South of Nepalese Tahsil of Taulivā and about 7 miles North West of Piprāhwā in Basti Dt, of U P, the Minor Rock Edicts discovered at Rūpnāth, 14 miles west of Sleemanabad railway station on the line from Jabalpore to Katni, at Sahasrām, the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād Dt, Bihar, at Bairāṭ, the headquarters of a Tahsil in the Jaipur St, Rajputana, at Calcutta-Bairāṭ, once styled as the Bhābrū edict, at Maski, in the Raichur Dt, and at Kopbāl, the head-quarters of a district in the Jagir of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur both in H E H the Nizam's Dominions, the versions at Brahmagiri, Siddāpur, and Jatiṅga-Rāmeśvara all three being situated in the Chittaldroog Dt, Mysore State, at Yerrāguḍi, in the Kurnool Dt of Madras, and the cave inscriptions in the Barābar hill, 15 miles to the North of Gaya in Bihar

The version of the Minor Rock Edict at Yerrāguḍi is already mentioned above The following notice published on page 791 of the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol 4, speaks of the discovery of a set of fourteen Rock Edicts "A momentous discovery of another recension in Brāhmī script of fourteen rock edicts of Aśoka has just been announced by the Department of Archaeology in India The inscriptions have been found engraved on five large rocks in the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency Eleven of the fourteen rock edicts have already been identified It is expected that a fuller report together with the photographs of the inscriptions will be available shortly" More than a decade has elapsed since the publication of this notice and yet this valuable discovery has not been brought out in print This delay in the publication is to be greatly regretted for the material afforded by the South Indian inscriptions of Aśoka is scanty and the publication of these fourteen edicts would largely add to our knowledge of the South Indian dialect in the Aśokan age

The Deoṭek slab inscription lately published by Prof V V Mirashi[1] and attributed by the learned editor to the days of Aśoka is not included in the present study Deoṭek is a small village some fifty miles to the south-east of Nagpur in C P. The attribution of the inscription to Aśoka is mainly based upon the subject matter of the ins-

1 Proceedings and Translations, 9th AIOC pp 613-22

cription which is thus narrated by the editor : ". . its object was to record the command of some lord (*Sāmi*) . prohibiting the capture and slaughter (evidently of some animals ; . .) and declaring some punishment for such as dared disobey it The third line mentions executive officers (*āmachā* = *amātyāḥ*) whose duty may have been to enforce these orders " On the basis of this information Prof Mirashi contends, "The contents of the present inscription suggest that it may be referred to the age of Aśoka when there was a wide-spread campaign against the capture and slaughter of animals" Prof Mirashi himself notes certain circumstances which go against his view Firstly the commencement of the record is unlike that of the known inscriptions of Aśoka And secondly some letters, e g, *ñ*, *p* and *c* in the first line and *t* which occurs in the first two lines belong to a later period But in spite of these difficulties Prof Mirashi believes that the Deoṭek edict was issued by some officer of Aśoka perhaps in the fourteenth year after his coronation.

The arguments put forward in support of this attribution do not carry conviction Besides the palaeographic and stylistic difficulties already noted above I am putting forward here the difficulties in attributing the record to Aśoka from the linguistic view point First of all, if the word *lego* occurring in the fourth line is to be derived from *lekha-*, it involves the change of *-kh-* to *-g-* perhaps through *-gh-* (*lekha-* > **legha-* > *lega-*) But this is a highly advanced phonetic change which never appears in the inscriptions of Aśoka Even the intermediate stage where *-kh-* > *-gh-* occurs only in the inscription of the 1st cent B C in Central India (cf Sk. *Makhādeva-* > *Maghādeva-* at Bharaut L 691) The cluster *sv-* which appears in the word *svāmi* (line 1) is never preserved in the Central Indian inscriptions of Aśoka, except in the word *svaga-* It is preserved, on the contrary, in the West and the N.-West (in the form *sp-*) in the inscriptions of Aśoka Similarly in the Deoṭek slab the cluster *-jñ-* is palatalised to *-ñ-* in *ā√ñapa-* (line 1) and *rāñā* (line 4) Now palatalisation of this cluster forms the Western characteristic of the inscriptions of Aśoka In the Central and Eastern regions on the contrary it is assimilated to *-n-* The preservation of the cluster *-mb-* in *Cikambari* (line 1) also appears to be a later characteristic Coming to the declined forms in the Deoṭek inscription, the nom sg ends in *-o*, (*baṁdhamto* line 2), but Central Indian inscriptions of Aśoka always show the ending *-e* Thus the absence in the Deoṭek slab of the Central Indian peculiarities observed in the inscriptions of Aśoka preclude the possibility of its being assigned to the days of Aśoka The inscription, therefore, is excluded from the present study

As the inscriptions of Aśoka offer to the scholar of Indian Linguistics an extremely fruitful field for research they have attracted the attention of a very large number of scholars—linguists, palaeographists and historians alike As one goes through the pages of the Bibliography attached at the end as the Second Part of this Essay, one is amazed at the large number of contributions already made with regard to these inscriptions. It is not quite unlikely that one may even come to the conclusion that there is now hardly anything left to be written on the subject of Aśokan inscriptions. But as the initial reaction of wonder subsides the reader would begin to see the way in which he can yet make some original contribution in this direction Thus almost all these attempts are devoted to the publication of the text and translation of the edicts, to the writing of explanatory notes on individual passages or words, to the identification of places and peoples mentioned in the edicts, or to the deciding of a

particular trait in the life of Aśoka A comprehensive attempt to study these inscriptions from the view point of comparative linguistics still remains to be undertaken It is true that some of the scholars have fully studied the dialects of the different versions or have made a beginning in this direction Hultzsch's excellent summaries of grammars of individual versions are undoubtedly valuable But he has failed therein to make a comparative approach so as to cover all the versions at a single stretch.

The present essay is, therefore, based on this comparative stand point which is to be applied to the entire material afforded by these inscriptions Thus the treatment of a particular phoneme or morpheme in all versions is studied at one place and wherever the dialectal distinctions could be observed in the geographically distant areas they have been pointed out The whole study is divided into two Parts—the first part being devoted to such comparative study and the second part to a complete Bibliography The first part again consists of three chapters The first chapter deals with the Phonology and Morphology of these inscriptions It includes the comparative study of the treatments of vowels and consonants in all positions This approach enables us to fix the regional correspondences which the different versions exhibit In the short space which is at our disposal it is not possible to give example of the preservation of Sk vowels and consonants, unless such preservation itself is of linguistic importance A few changes which are introduced in the treatment of consonants due to assimilation and others which are only occasional in their appearance have been referred to in foot-notes. The study mainly purports to bring out the stage as is reflected in these inscriptions in the development of the MI-A languages in the different corners of India Where the examples are quoted they are culled as far as possible to represent all the versions of the inscriptions and thus satisfy the require- of comparative study It also deals with the declensional and the conjugational systems from the same comparative stand point as is applied to the study of Phonology The dialectal variations in each case have been generally specified in the beginning and the exceptions wherever they occur have been immediately noted

The second chapter includes the study of Syntax of these inscriptions But for a few syntactical peculiarities in the Major Rock Edicts noted by Hultzsch at the end of the Grammar of the Girnar version this important branch in the linguistic study of these inscriptions has almost remained untouched As an exhaustive study of Aśokan syntax could not be included in this Essay, only such peculiarities as appear in the government of cases, in case variations, and a few others have been exemplified at some length Even in this sphere the different versions of the edicts point to dialectal variations in certain instances

The last chapter views the results in Phonology and Morphology arrived at by the comparative study in the light of the Prakrit grammarians The school of Prakrit grammarians came into vogue at a very late stage and hence their grammars are based on the literary works The three principal languages treated by them derive their names from the three geographical subdivisions viz Magadha, Śūrasena and Mahārāṣṭra. It is, therefore, quite natural to suppose that the dialects which later on developed into full fledged literary languages must have been reflected in the different versions in Aśokan inscriptions corresponding to their respective regions For though the edicts which were to be inscribed at various places in Aśoka's empire were the same when they were issued from Magadha, they were altered actually at the time of inscribing them at various places so as to suit the requirements of local dialects A

note of warning, however, requires to be sounded here before one eagerly looks into these inscriptions to get as it were the Western, the N.-Western, the Central or the Southern translations of the Māgadhan edicts. It is only the Girnār and the Shāhbāzgarhī versions of the fourteen rock edicts which materially differ from the Māgadha version. The edicts which appear in Central and Southern India do not seem to have been so largely altered. To substantiate this statement, the treatment of *r* in the Central Indian inscriptions of Aśoka may be cited as an illustration. In this division the semi-vowel *r* becomes *l* as in the Māgadha dialect. But in the numerous votive inscriptions at Sāñci which come almost on the heels of Aśokan inscriptions this *r* is preserved. Now it would be hazardous to suppose that the Central Indian dialects in Aśoka's days changed *r* > *l* but began to preserve it when the inscriptions at Sāñci were inscribed. On the contrary it would be more natural to suppose that the scribes who put down the Central Indian versions of Aśoka's inscriptions did not alter the Māgadhan *l* to *r* but kept the form of the word as it appeared in the Māgadha dialect. This single illustration, however, does not preclude the possibility of the Central and Southern scribes of having made any change whatsoever. For instance, the Kopbāḷ version alone of the Minor Rock Edicts presents an instance of initial cerebralisation of the dental *n*-. This cannot be explained in any other way except by supposing that its insertion was entirely due to the influence of a local dialect.

Thus it is the study of the Western dialect in comparison with the Eastern one of the Aśokan inscriptions which can be principally utilised for the study of the development of literary Mahārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī. However, wherever the versions other than those in the two regions noted above show any dialectal peculiarity even they have been considered in relation to the later Prakrits of the grammarians. The purpose of this last chapter is primarily to investigate the extent to which the dialectal characteristics noticed by later grammarians had already begun to appear in the corresponding regions in the days of Aśoka.

The second part is devoted to the presentation of an exhaustive Bibliography of Aśokan inscriptions. All the entries have been in the first instance arranged alphabetically under their authors' names in order to faciliate ready reference. In the end is given a Note on the Bibliography which classifies all these four hundred odd entries according to their subject matter by givivng reference to their number in Bibliography.

As the present monograph is restricted to the linguistic study it has not been possible to deal with some other aspects of the inscriptions. Yet it may be pointed out what is being done quite recently in this direction. With the texts, translations and numerous explanatory notes already having been made available, the identification of Satiyaputra and the problem of the religion of Aśoka seem to interest the scholars even to-day. The former has been differently identified and with regard to the Emperor's faith all the existing religions of the land have been exhausted. It appears, however, that the Emperor was a convert Buddhist, though the Dhamma he undertook to preach did not contain the philosophical delicacies peculiar to this religion. It is not intended here to give a detailed argument in support of this opinion. The absence of the dogmatic tenets of Buddhism in his preaching seems to make us believe that Aśoka did not as much wish to see that all his subjects were convert Buddhists like himself as to see that they practised the ethical side of the religion. The mention of Brahmanical

'svarga' in his edicts instead of Buddhistic 'nirvāṇa' seems to be due to the fact that the Emperor wanted to take advantage of popular psychology He, therefore, did not try to explain to his subjects the distinction between 'nirvāṇa' and 'svarga' but merely promised them the obtainment of the latter as a result of the practice of his Dhamma.

The conception of morality (Dharma) according to this apostle of non violence included proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to parents, liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, avoiding killing animals (RE, 11, also cf RE, 3). At so many places Aśoka bemoans the increase in past years of such demerits as the slaughter of animals in sacrifices, discourtesy towards the followers of a religion other than one's own, disobedience to the elders and unnecessary performance of some ritualistic practices during illness, or at the time of marriage, the birth of a son or when setting out on a journey (RE 1, 4, 9 etc) He, therefore, vigorously launched a movement with a view to removing these demerits in the worldly practices of his subjects by the instruction of morality He taught that any type of conduct which included few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness and purity was highly meritorious (PE, 2) It is on this extreme indifference towards the philosophical aspect of the religion and great regard for the practical side of it that his religious toleration was based He honoured all sects with gifts and sincerely desired promotion of the essentials of all sects (RE 12, also cf RE 7)

To conform to the duties of morality and to avoid demerit was never thought easy by the great Maurya Emperor, though he thought it possible only with the employment of great zeal (RE 10) He, therefore, never remained content with a pious wish for increase in morality but exerted himself and exhorted his officers in this direction He was in fact never tired of exerting himself and dispatching business Visiting the people personally was regarded as his principal duty by Aśoka (PE 6) All his actions were goaded by one motive which is thus mentioned "I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world)" (RE 6) He warned his officers to stay away especially from anger and hurry lest their passion interfere with the impartial administration of justice (Separate edict 1) Aśoka rightly prided himself in the creation of the special officers styled by him as Dharma-mahāmātras whom he instituted thirteen years after his coronation They were occupied with all sects, with all peoples, with servants and masters with prisoners with destitute and aged for the establishmment and promotion of morality (RE 5) It was in this fashion that Aśoka set out on a conquest by morality (Dhamma-vijaya) after he came out victorious in the great Kaliṅga war And it is in the first Pillar Edict issued twenty-six years after his coronation that Aśoka records with satisfaction that after continued efforts in instructing people in morality and also the practice of morality on the part of his agents, great results were achieved, for regard and love for morality in his subjects were being promoted day by day

ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS IN INDIA

MAP OF INDIA

SHOWING THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF

ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

KASHMIR
PUNJAB
BALUCHISTAN
SIND
RAJPUTANA
UNITED PROVINCES
NEPAL
BHUTAN
ASSAM
BENGAL
BURMA
CENTRAL PROVINCES
HYDERABAD
ORISSA
MYSORE
ARABIAN SEA
CEYLON
BOMBAY
BAIRAT
SANCHI
GIRNAR
SOPARA
RUPNATH
SARNATH
MASKI
YERRAGUDI
SIDDAPUR

CHAPTER I

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

§ 1 INTRODUCTORY The inscriptions of Aśoka offer to the student of Indian linguistics a remarkable specimen of a linguistic survey of Indo-Aryan languages as they were current in the great Maurya Empire during the 3rd century B C This unique feature has been responsible for attracting the attention of many distinguished scholars working in the field of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics Though it is difficult to name all these scholars in these few introductory remarks, mention may be made of the following who have very greatly contributed towards deciphering and interpreting these inscriptions PRINSEP, SENART, BUHLER, JOHANSSON, FRANKE, SMITH, GRIERSON, MICHELSON, THOMAS, HULTZSCH, BLOCH, LÜDERS, JAYASWAL, CHARPENTIER, WOOLNER, D R BHANDARKAR, D C SIRCAR, TURNER, and B M BARUA The publication of these inscriptions by HULTZSCH in the revised edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol I, in 1925 has brought the study of Aśokan inscriptions to a very high level, incorporating within itself the linguistic and palaeographic researches of more than three generations of scholars I have based my phonological and morphological study of these inscriptions entirely on the readings adopted by HULTZSCH

But even this work of HULTZSCH fails to attempt a comparative approach to the linguistic material afforded by these inscriptions His excellent summaries of grammars are valuable in themselves, no doubt, but their drawback is that they deal with individual dialects and do not give a comparative idea to the reader In the following discussion, therefore, the whole material is rearranged on a comparative basis in order to show at every stage what linguistic features marked the different dialects of the period Thus a comprehensive attempt is made here, perhaps for the first time, to reduce, wherever possible, the entire material to certain regional correspondences in so far as the treatment of the different vowels, consonants—simple and clustered—, and the declensional and conjugational forms are concerned While doing this, in the section on Phonology only the linguistic changes have been exemplified, the instances of preservation being omitted It may be noted that these changes again are not of universal character but show only certain tendencies of pronunciation In the section on Morphology, however, all the different endings have been exemplified

Besides the inscriptions included by HULTZSCH in his edition, I have incorporated in this study the additional material afforded by the recently discovered versions of the minor rock edict at Kopbāl[1] in H E H the Nizam's Dominions and at Yerrāguḍi[2] in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency I have, however, not been able to include the fourteen rock edicts discovered in the Kurnool district, as none of them is published so far though many years have elapsed since the announcement of their

1 Ed. by R. L TURNER, *The Gavimath and Pālkiguṇḍu inscriptions of Aśoka*, Hyderabād Arch Ser No. 10, 1932

2 D. C. SIRCAR *IHQ* 7 (737) 817 ff B M BARUA *IHQ* 4, 113 ff, 13 132 ff K P JAYASWAL, *IHQ* 9, 583 ff

discovery by the Department of Archæology in India This material, when published, would be of immense importance inasmuch as the south Indian Aśokan material is rather scanty in comparison with the north Indian material

I have not added here any remarks as regards the find spots[3] of the Aśokan inscriptions They are now too well-known in the world of scholars to need repetition here.

PHONOLOGY

I VOWELS

§ 2 In common with the other MIA languages the Sk vowels are well preserved in these inscriptions, the notable exceptions being those of the vowel *ṛ* and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*

§ 3 Treatment of the vowel *ṛ* in a metrically short syllable

(i) In its initial position this vowel generally tends to become *a*- in G even when combined with a labial In K and to a certain extent in M, *ṛ*- either becomes *a*- or *i*- so that in a few cases we actually get two parallels for a Sk word, one indicating the *a*- and the other the *i* treatment In S, *ṛ*- generally becomes *i*- and in a few cases *a*- It becomes *u*- when combined with a labial D J Pillar and Minor Rock inscriptions agree with the treatment found in K, except that in the latter *ṛ*- > *u*- in combination with a labial

Sk	G	K	S
kṛtá-	*kata*-	*kaṭa*-	*kiṭa*- *kiṭra*-
mṛgá-	*maga*-	*miga*-	*mruga*-

M	D,J	PE	MRE
kaṭa- *kiṭa*-	*ka'a*-	*kaṭa*-	*kaṭa*-
mriga-	*miga* Sk *pṛthivī*- > *puṭhavi*-	Sk *smara*-> *simala*-	Sk *mṛṣāvāda*- > *musāvāda*

It must be noted that S and sometimes M do not in all cases change the vowel *ṛ* to *a*-, *i*-, *u*- but also preserve the consonantal character of the vowel *ṛ* in semi-tatsamas.[4] Then again in G we get *srunāru* from Sk √*sṛ-nu* , but this is due to the influence of the other forms of the root √*śru*- (cf HULTZSCH, p LVI) Other parallels are *ṣuneyu* K, *śruneyu* S, *suneyu* MRE

(ii) In the penultimate position is appears that the change -*ṛ*- > -*i*- is fast disappearing in the edicts which showed it in the initial syllable and the change -*ṛ*- > -*a*- is tending to be normal Under stress accent it becomes -*i*- in all groups

3 These will be clear from the Map No, 1.

4. Cf for this type of change WACKERNAGEL, *Ai Gr* I §29 p. 33.

Sk.	G	K	S
vyāpṛta-	*vyāpata-*	*viyāpaṭa-*	*vapaṭa-* *viyapuṭa-*
etādṛśa-	*etārisa-*		
īdṛśa-		*hedisa-*	*ediśa-*

M	D, J	PE	MRE
vapuṭa- *viyapraṭa-*	*viyāpaṭa-*	*viyāpaṭa-*	Sk *prakṛti-* > *pakiti-*
ediśa-	*edisa-*	*hedisa-*	

(iii) Most of the words where we get the vowel *-ṛ* in its final position are those expressive of human relationship and in such cases it becomes *-i* or *-u*

Sk	S, M	K, D, J	PE	MRE
bhrātṛ-	*bhratu-* *bhata-* M	*bhāti-*		
pitṛ-	*pitu-* *piti-*	*piti-* *-pitu-* D	*piti*	*piti-*, *pitu-*[5]

§ 4 The vowel *ṛ* in a metrically long syllable

(i) In the initial position the vowel generally becomes *a-* in all edicts, with this difference that when combined with a labial it becomes *u-* oftener in other edicts than in G

Sk	G	S, M	K
vṛkṣá-	*vracha-*	*rucha-*	*lukha-*
vṛddhi-	*vaḍhi-* (*vudha* Sopārā)	*vadhi-* S *vadhri-* M	*vadhi-* (*vadha-*)

D, J	PE	MRE
lukha-		Sk *adhi-kṛtya* > *adhi-gicya*
vaḍhi- *vuḍhi-*	*vaḍhi-*	*vaḍhi-*

The Sk root √*dṛkṣ-* gives two bases *√*dakkha-* and *√*dikkha-* from which we get √*dakha-* (S, M, K, D, J, MRE) and *dekha-* (D, J, PE) The form *diseyā* in bh is derived from Sk *dṛśyate* by KERN and HULTZSCH

(ii) In the penultimate position we get the same treatment as in the case of the initial syllable

Sk	G	K	S M	D, J	PE
ānṛṇya-	*ānaṁna-*	*ananiya-*	*ananiya-*	*ānamna-*	Sk *apakṛṣṭa-* > *apakaṭha-*
nivṛtti-		*nivuti-*	*nivuti-*	(*anāvuti*)	Sk. *niṣṛṣṭa-* > *nisiṭha-* (due to assimilation)

5 At yr *-ṛ-* > *-ū-* before term under the influence of gen pl cf *-pitūṣu*,

§ 5 Treatment of Sk *ai* In all positions and in all versions Sk. *ai* > *e*.

Sk. *kaivarta-* > *kevaṭa-* PE

The dat inf term *-tavai* > *-tave* everywhere

The diphthong *-ai-* which is the result of the sandhi becomes *-i-* at sn cf Sk *ekaika-* > *ikika-* At sn Sk *éka-* > *ika-* Therefore the second *-i-* in *ikika* may be due to assimilation or due to sandhi peculiarity

§ 6 Treatment of Sk *au* In all positions and at all places Sk *au* > *o*

Sk *paútra-* > *-potra-* G, M *-pota-* S, G, K, D, J *potika-* T, sc

Sk *paurāṇa-* > *porāṇa-* Mysore group *porāna-* yr

In bh we get the form *galava-* (HLZ *gālava-*) comparable with Sk *gaurava-*. The Aśokan form is to be derived directly from the base **gara-* which appears in Sk *gárīyas-* and *gariṣṭha-*

§ 7 Treatment of Sk *-aya-* (and *ayi-*)

Sk *-aya-* (and *-ayi-*) is usually contracted to *-e-* but it is sometimes preserved without any regional distinction

Sk *pūjayati* > *pujeti* S,M K, *pujetayā-* G (< Sk *pūjayitavyā*), *pujayati* G

Sk *ā√jñā-paya-* > *a√napaya-* S,M,br *a√nape-* S M, *ā√napaya* D ! Kb, *ā√ñapaya-* G, *a√napaya-* K

Sk **trayadaśa-* > *traidasa-*[6] G, *tedasa-* K, D, J, *todaśa-* S (? Acc to HLZ)

Sk *Ujjayinī-* > *Ujeni* d

§ 8 Treatment of Sk *ava*

Sk *ava* generally becomes *o* in Aś inscriptions When *ā* > *o* > *ava* in Sk conjugation, in Aś inscriptions we get either *ava* or *o*

Sk *avarodhana-* > *orodhana* K D J, T

Sk *bhavati* > *bhavati* G, *hoti* G So S,M,K,D,J,d,j,PE,sd

§ 9 Treatment of Sk *a* in a metrically short syllable

The Sk vowel *a* is preserved in an overwhelming majority of cases There are, however, a few changes which it undergoes

(i) Change *a* > *ā* is observed in the following cases

Sk *ca* is sometimes represented as *cā* in K,D J j PE and MRE Similarly we get *nā* twice in K for Sk *ná*[7]

Sk *ráti* The form in S,M,G and So is *rati*, but in K *lāti* TURNER points out that this latter form might be an example of the preservation of initial *ā-* cf *rādi* 'play' **rānti* Similarly the form *uyāma-* in K is shown to be a case of medial preservation of long *-ā-* (< Sk *udyāma-*)[8]

(ii) The change of *-a* > *-i-* is found in Sk *madhyamá-* > *majhima-* in K,d,j and PE (but *majhama-* in G) This change is due to the presence of the palatal semivowel *y* In the future form the same change occurs in *vaḍhisiti* in MRE

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6 TURNER explains this form to have come from Prim Ind **trayedaśá* < IE **trevez dekm̥* cf *BSOS* 4,363

7 It is worthwhile to note that in *Ṛ*V X 34 8 also we get *nā*

8 Cf *BSOS* 4 364 For a few apparent changes *a* > *ā* cf MEHENDALE, *BDCRI* 3 233 In Sk *ātyayika-* < *ācāyika-* S M,G, *atiyāyika-* K,D,J, the change seems to be due to assimilation We may also note Sk *kṛtajñatā* > *kiṭanātā* K, l

(iii) The change of *a-* > *ū-* is noticed in *tūlanā-* (< Sk *tvaraṇā-*) and *tulā-* (< Sk *tvarā-*) in d and j respectively,[9] in *munisa-* (< Sk *mánuṣa-* or *manuṣya-*) in D, J, PE and MRE,[10] and in *muta-*[11] (< Sk. *matá-*) in K,S,M,Ksb,Rdh,Rp

Sk *uccāvaca-* > *ucāvuca-* Major RE due to assimilation (G gives *ucavaca-* also)

Sk. *udapāna-* > *udupāna-* in M,K,D,J,T On the basis of this correspondence the change *-a-* > *-u-* may be explained away as due to assimilation. But it is also possible to derive *udu-* < Sk *-uḍu-* 'water' The Sk word *uḍu-* probably goes back to *ṛdu-* 'sweet or pleasant' Cf *ṛdupá- Ṛgveda* VIII 77 11 'drinking what is sweet or pleasant'

Sk *auṣadhá-* (< *oṣadhi-*) The forms that are obtained are *oṣuḍha-* in S and *osuḍha-* in G K,D and J, however, give the form *osadha* HULTZSCH observes that the change *-a-* > *-u-* noticed in S and G is due to the preceding vowel *o* Commenting on this derivation TURNER[12] observes that an earlier hypothetical form **oṣṛdha-* or **osṛdha-* would explain the presence of *-u-* or *-a-* in the different forms But we have already seen that intervocalic *ṛ-* > *-a-* (and not *-u-*) in G and *-i-* or *-a-* in S The suggestion, therefore, made by TURNER does not seem to be acceptable

The change of Sk *ca* > *cu* in Kpb is explained by TURNER to be due to contamination with *tu* Cf *Gavimṭh and Pālk Inscriptions,* p 10

(iv) The change of *a* > *e* in *meñati* S (Sk *manyate*) is probably due to the influence of the palatal *y* in the following syllable (Cf HLZ p lxxxiv) Similarly Sk *śályaka-* > *-seyaka-* Rdh, Mth, Rp and *-sayaka-* T, Ksb (cf HLZ p cxi) The form *sayame-* (Sk *samyama-*) only at M is either due to preceding *y* or is a mistake

(v) Initially *a-* is dropped in *pi* < Sk *api* in all versions For a few other instances of initial elision cf Sk **ahakam* > *hakam* K,D,J,PE,MRE, in the west and north-west, however, we get *aham* Similarly Sk *aṅghanti* > **araghanti* > **raghamti* > *laghamti* PE In compounds, Sk *-adhyakṣa-* > *dhiyakha-* K, *-jhakha-* G, M, *-dhiyacha-* S We may also cite the instance of Sk *asmi* > *sumi* MRE

(vi) In the final position the vowel *-a* is preserved in many cases In a few cases, however, it is dropped or is changed to *-ā*, *-e* or *-o*

1 The Vowel *-a* > *-ā* in compounds as,

Sk *sāra-vṛddhi-* > *śālā-vaḍhi-* K, but *sāra-* G, *śāla-* K, *sala* S, M

Sk *ardha-trika-* > *adhātiya-* br,sd, but *adhatiya-* in other MRE The change here may be due to the simplification of the following cluster

2 It becomes *-ā* also when the final consonant is dropped The change occurs mostly in the north and the east

Sk *yávat* > *āvā* Rdh,Mth, in other edicts we get *-a* at the end

Sk *samyak-* > *samyā-* D,J,K, *samma-* S, *samya-* G,M

3 In some cases the final *-a* is lengthened even when there is no loss of final consonant

Sk *áha* > *āhā* K,D,J,PE,yr *āha* G,K,J,PE and br and sd

9. It may be noted that in Vedic times the word *tvar-* was pronounced as **tuar-* Hence **tuaraṇā* > *tūlanā* or *tulā* Similarly in PE we get *suve* < Vedic *svah*

10 The change here appears to be due to analogy with *purisa-* < Sk *pūruṣa-*

11 Due to the presence of *m* The vowel *a* is preserved in *mata-* at k, d, j, T, Mi,

12 *BSOS* 4 363,

Sk *yátra*[13] > *yatā* K, other edicts, including K, give forms with *-a* at the end

Sk *átha* > *athā* yr

The change is sometimes observed in the terminations of declension

Sk *bhayéna* > *bhayenā* PE

Sk *jánapadasya* > *jānapadasā* K,T *jānapadasa* G,D,PE

4 The loss of visarga The visarga at the end is lost in these inscriptions and the preceding vowel *-a* sometimes undergoes the following changes

(i) Change *-aḥ* > *-ā*

Sk. *Magaḥ* > *Magā* G, *Makā* K, *Maka* S,M

(ii) Change *-aḥ* > *o* This is generally found in G S

Sk *yáśaḥ* > *yaso* G,D,J *yaṣo* or *yaśo* K, *yaso* M

Sk *vayaḥ* > *vayo* PE

(iii) Change *-aḥ* > *-e* is generally met with in edicts other than G and S

Sk *jánaḥ* > *jane* S,M,K,D,J,PE, but *jano* S,G

Sk *-priyaḥ* > *-piye* everywhere, but *priyo* or *piyo* S,M,G

§ 10 Treatment of the vowel *a* in a metrically long syllable The vowel, though mostly preserved, becomes *ā* in a few cases[14]

Sk **rájjū-ka-* > *rājūka-* G, yr, *rajuka-* S,M, *lajūka-* K,D,PE

Sk *vaktavya-* > *vātavā* bh, but *vatava-* S, *vatavya* G, *vataviya* M,K, D,d,j, and Mysore group

Sk *púnarvasu-* > *punāvasu* PE

Sk *anyátra* > *ānata* K, but *anata* K,D, *añatra* S,M,G, *amnata* D J PE

The change of *-a-* > *-i-* in a metrically long syllable is found in Sk *gṛhastha-* > *gihitha-* K,T, but *gahatha-* K,M, *gharasta-* G, and *grahatha-* S The fact that both the forms with *-i-* and *-a* are found in K shows that this treatment is dependent upon the corresponding change of *ṛ* > *a-* or *i-*

§ 11 Treatment of the vowel *i* in a metrically short syllable The vowel is overwhelmingly preserved Yet it undergoes the following few changes

1 Change *i-* > *a* due to dissimilation is observed in

Sk *pipīlikā-* > *kapīlika-* T, Rdh, Mth Rp but *kipilika-* Ksb

Sk *pṛthivī* > *-puṭhavī-* d It must be noted that the Sk vowel *-i* which becomes *-a-* is a svarabhakti vowel

2 Change *(v)i-* > *u-* is observed in such cases as

Sk *dvitīya-* > *dutīya-* ng, kq

Sk *svid* > *su* d, j

3 Change *i-* > *e-* may be witnessed in Sk *tri daśa* > *tredaśa-* M, *tedasa-* K, D, but *tidaśa-* s[15]

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13 In Vedic Sk we get the form *yatrā* also

14 Besides the instances noted above also cf *sāva* (< Sk *sárva-*) at K other versions including K show short *a*; Sk *dákṣina-* > *-dākhina-* T Mi, Ksb, Rp, but *-dakhinā-* Rdh, Mth, Sk *āgatya* > *āgāca* rm, ng, Sk *pranaptṛ-* > *panāti-* K, but *panati-* D, *panati-* M, *pranati-* S

15 For G *traidasa* cf *supra* §6.

4. The vowel *i* is often lengthened in prepositions, suffixes and before the loss of final consonant or visarga.

Sk. *pratibhāga-* > *paṭībhāga-* G, *paṭibhāga-* K S T almost invariably gives *paṭī-* for Sk *prati-*

Sk *-abhikāra-* > *-abhīkāra-* G, *-abhīkāla-* D, *-abhikara-* S,M, *-abhikala-* K.

Sk *sthitika-* > *-ṭhitīka-* D,J,PE,sc,bh,br,sd,Kpb, but *-ṭhitika-* M,T,ru,s,b, *-thitika* S,T,Mi, *-thitikya-* K.

Sk. *lipih* > *lipī* d,j, but *lipi* D,sn.

Sk. *prakṛtiḥ* > *pamkitī* sd, *pakitī* br,sd, but *pakiti* jtr

Sk *etásmin* > *etamhī* G, but *etasi* d, j

This change in the quantity of the vowel is also sometimes observed before the case terminations

Sk *jñātiṣu* > *ñatīṣu* G, also cf *amtevāsīsu* yr

Sk *rājabhiḥ* > **lājhi* > *lājīhi* T

5 Initially *i-* is lost only in a few cases

Sk *idā́nīm* > *dāni* MRE (*dāni* Kpb) but *idā́ni* S,M,K

Sk *iti* > *ti* in all versions, *iti* is sometimes obtained in G,D

§ 12 Treatment of the vowel *ī* in a metrically long syllable The vowel is mostly preserved, but sometimes it is changed to *i* or *e*

Sk *nir√lakṣ-* > *nīlakha-* PE Rp once gives *nilakha-*

Sk. *viṃśati-* > *vīsati-* rm, ng, bb and other PE Once in *satavisati-vasa*, however, T gives short *i-* The presence of the long vowel may even be regarded as the preservation of IE long *ī-* which is noticed in AV *visati*, Lat *uīgintī*[16]

Sk *cikitsā-* > *cikīcha-* G, but *cikichā-* S,M,DJ

Sk *avihiṃsā-* > *avihīsā-* G, but *avihisā-* in other versions, *avihiṃsā-* G,T

The change of *i-* > *e-* may be noticed in the following plausible example Sk **i-tra* > *ela* G,D, *etra* S, *heta* So,K,D,J,Kq,S

§ 13 Treatment of the vowel *u* in a metrically short syllable Though the vowel is preserved in a large majority of cases, sometimes it becomes *a*, *i*, *ū* or *o*

1 Change *u* > *a* may be instanced in Sk *púnar* > *pana* S,M,D,J, (but *punā* S,M,G,K,) and Sk *gurú-* > *garu-* S,G,yr, *garuta-* br, *galu-* K (but *guru-* S,M,G, *gulu-* K,D,J) But as has been already noticed the latter forms are to be compared with Sk *gárīyas-* and *gariṣṭha-*

2 Change *u* > *i* occurs in such cases as,

Sk. *púruṣa-* > *pulisa-*[17] PE, d, j

Sk *mánuṣa-* > *munisa-*[18] K,D,J,PE,MRE, but *manuṣa-* S,M,K, *manusa* G, *mānusa-* Kpb

Sk *Purinda-* > *Pilada-* K, but *Pulida-* S, *Pārimda-* G, and *Pālimda-* M

3. Change *u* > *ū* occurs sometimes before case terminations

Sk *bahúbhiḥ* > *bahūhi* G,D,J, but *bahuhi* S,K

16 See Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p 37

17 The vowel which undergoes the change is a svarabhakti vowel cf the change *i* > *a* in similar circumstances, *supra* § 11.

18. This is only an analogical form after *purisa-*.

Sk. *bahúṣu* > *bahūsu* D,J,PE

Sk. *gurúṣu* > *gurūsu* yr

It is also lengthened due to loss of visarga

Sk. *sādhúḥ* > *sādhū* D,T, other versions give short *-u*

Sk *vaseyuḥ* > *vasevū* D, others give short *-u*

For some sporadic lengthening of the vowel *u* cf,

Sk. √*yuj-* > √*yūja-* d,j

Sk. *pratyupagamana-* > *pacūpagamana-* T, Rdh, Mth, Rp, but *pacupagamana-* Ksb

Sk **mādhuratā-* > *mādhūratā-* G, but other versions show short *u*

The vowel *u* is lengthened in its final position when followed by *ti* (< Sk *iti*), or sometimes even without it

Sk *jānantu iti* > *jānamtū ti* MRE

Sk *bhavatu iti* > *hotū ti* PE, also cf *āḷādhamtū ti*

Sk *yuñjantu* > *yujamtū* D, but *yujamtu* M,G,K, also cf *pamthesū* G, but *magesu* in other versions

Sometimes, however, the vowel *-ū-* is shortened in Sandhi and in compounds

§ 14 Treatment of the vowel *u* in a metrically long syllable The vowel is only exceptionally lengthened in such cases as

Sk *anāyuktika-* > *anāvūtiya-* d, but *anāvutiya-* j

Sk **niṣṭhurya-* > *niṭhūliya-* d, j, PE

Sk *anupratipanna-* > *anūpaṭipamna-* T The change may even be attributed to analogy with similar lengthening of *i* in prepositions

§ 15 In the case of long vowels *ā*, *ī* and *ū* it is to be remembered that as the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet does not mark the length of the vowels such long vowels are absent in S and M Hence in these versions at S and M the short vowels sometimes stand for long ones

§ 16 Treatment of the vowel *ā* followed by a single consonant The vowel is almost invariably preserved Such cases as *dana-* (for *dāna-*), *papa-* (for *pāpa-*) are clearly due to scribal mistakes *-aparadha-* in G is to be derived from the root √*radh-* used in the same sense as √*rādh* [19]

Sk *mahānasa-* > *mahanasa-* D, (S,M) but *mahānasa* G,K

Sk *mahāmātra-* > *mahamata-* Kq, but other versions give forms with *mahā-*

Sk *mahādhaná-* > *mahadhana-* yr

The vowel *-ā* in its final position[20] is sometimes shortened in the declined forms of the nom sg or inst sg

Sk *rā́jā* > *rāja* G, *lāja* K,D,T,bb, *laja* S,M, but *rājā* G, *lājā* K,D,J,T,b

Sk *icchā* > *icha* S,M,K,d,j, but *ichā* G,K,PE

Sk *ātmánā* > *atana* Rdh, Mth, Rp, but *atanā* T, Ksb

Similarly the vowel *ā* is sometimes shortened in the eastern dialect when it is followed by *m* (which is changed into anusvāra) or when the visarga at the end is lost

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19 Cf HULTZSCH, p lvi

20 It is perhaps shortened due to the loss of final consonant in Sk. *syā́t* > *siya* PE, j, (S, M), but *siyā* K, d, j, PE, MRE, Sk. *manā́k* (?) > *mina* or *mana* PE (*minā* Mi)

Sk *bhūtānām* > *bhūtānaṁ* (G), D, J, K, T, but *bhūtānām* G
Sk. *putrāh* > *puta* K, D, J, but *putrā* G (*putra* S, M)

§ 17 Treatment of the vowel *ā* followed by a consonant cluster · It is in this treatment that the regional distinction is clearly noticed Whereas in the Western division the long vowel is preserved, it is usually shortened at other places

Sk *ātyayika-* > *ācāyika-* G, (*acayika-* S,M) but *atiyāyika-* K,D,J
Sk *mārdava-* > *mādava-* G, *madava-* K,T
Sk *prakrānta-* > *pakamta-* MRE

When a cluster with a nasal follows the long vowel *ā*, it is shortened to *a* even in G. If the long *ā* is preserved in the inscriptions then the anusvāra is dropped or the cluster is assimilated

Sk *Tāmraparṇī-* > *Tambapamnī-* G,K,J,S, *tambapani-* M
Sk *klānta-* > *kilamta-* d, j
Sk *kṣānti-* > *chāti-* G, *chamti-* S, *khamti-* K
Sk *ā√jñap-* > *ā√ñapa-* G, *ā√napa-* K,D,J,T,Kb *ā√napa-* br, (*a√napa-* S,M)
Sk *ātmanā* > *atanā* PE, *atane* d, j

§ 18 Treatment of the vowel *ī* followed by a single consonant In this position the vowel is fairly well preserved It is only in the Kālsī version that the vowel is often represented as short one In *tinni* (< Sk *trīṇi*) we find that the vowel is shortened and a nasal is added to it Therefore such forms as *devinam* and *anusathini* may be regarded according to HULTZSCH, as defective spelling for *devimnam* and *anusathimni*

Sk *jīva-* > *jiva-* K (S,M) but *jīva-* G,D,J,PE
Sk *dīpana* > *dipana-* K (S,M), but *dīpana-* G
Sk *śīla* > *sīla-* G,D,K (*sila-* S,M)

The nom sg of fem nouns ending in *-ī* generally ends in long *-ī* in G and the Mysore group, but it ends in short *-i* elsewhere In the case of the nom sg of mas nouns ending in *-in*, the short vowel is noticed at G,S,M,PE, and the long vowel at D,J,Ksb and ī in K and MRE

For some sporadic shortenings of *ī* cf the following instances

Sk *pipīlikā-* > *kapilika-* Rdh, Mth, Rp *kipilikā-* ksb, but *kapīlika-* T
Sk *miśrībhūta-* > *misibhūta-* mk
Sk *dvitīya-* > *dutiya-* ng,kq
Sk *āśvāsanīya-* > *asvāsaniya* d, j, (also cf *ḍaviya-* d)

The long vowel *ī* is changed to its guṇa substitute in Sk *īdṛśa-* > *hedisa-* K,D,J, sn, *ediśa-* S,M.

§ 19 Treatment of the vowel *ī* before a consonant cluster As is noticed in the case of the vowel *ā* before a consonant cluster, this vowel also is usually shortened in all edicts except at G

Sk *kīrti-* > *kīti-* G, *kitī-* M,D,J, *kiṭri-* S, *kiti-* G,K
Sk *īrṣyā-* > *isā-* d, j, *isyā-* PE.[21]
Sk *dīrghāyus-* > *dīghāvusa-* br, sd, but *dighāvusa-* sd, jtr (*dīgha-* HLZ)

21. The long vowel is, however, preserved in PE in the form *palīkhā-* (< Sk. *parīkṣā*)

§ 20 Treatment of the vowel *ū* before a simple consonant It is usually kept long in all versions except those at S,M, (and K) The form *thuba-* occurring at ng, is not to be derived from Sk *stūpa-* but from √*stubh-* The short vowel in *bhuya-* (Sk. *bhūyas*), which is found in Major RE suggests that it is probably to be read as *bhuyya-* For some irregular shortenings of *ū* at K we may compare such instances as—

Sk *sūpa-* > *supa-* K, (S, M), but *sūpa-* G,D,J

Sk *mayūra-* > *majula-* K (S,M), but *majūla-* J

Sk *pūjā-* > *puja-* (S, M), but *pūjā-* G, PE

The treatment of the long *ū* in Sk *śuśrūṣā* is rather irregular Cf *susụsā-* K,J,T, *susrusā-* and *susumsā-* (note the compensatory addition of anusvāra) G, √*sususa-* D, jtr But *suśrūsā-* G, *susūsā-* D,PE, √*susūsa-* J, br, sd, (*susruṣa-* S,M)

§ 21 Treatment of the vowel *ū* before a consonant cluster In this case the vowel is shortened in all versions including the one at G

Sk *-pūrva-* > *-purva* or *-puva-* G, *-pruva-* S,M, *puluva-* K,D,J

Sk *dūṣya-* > *dusa-* sn, sc, kb

The long vowel is, however, met with in such forms as *-sūta-* (< Sk *sūtra-*) at bh, *-sūriya-* and *-ṣūhiya-* (< Sk *sūrya-*) at sc and nj respectively

§ 22 Treatment of the vowel *e* It is preserved in these inscriptions almost rigorously even when followed by a consonant cluster It is only in such rare forms as *ika-* (Sk *eka-*) at sn that the vowel undergoes any change In S, however, a tendency is noticed to change the final *-e* to *i* [22]

Sk *dvê* > *duvi* S, but *duve* elsewhere

Sk *rājānah* > (**rājāne*) > *rajani* S, but *rajane* M and *lājāne* D,J,T.

§ 23 Treatment of the vowel *o* This vowel is also extremely well preserved even when followed by a consonant cluster It is shortened to *u* only as a sandhi peculiarity

Sk *ekona-* > *ekuna-* bb

Sk *prajotpādana-* > *pajupadana* S

II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 24 Generally, simple consonants are well preserved both initially and medially The processes of sonantisation, loss of occlusion and others by which intervocal consonants suffer numerous changes in later Prakrits, though not altogether absent in Aś inscriptions, have only just begun to appear in them The law of cerebralisation too has only partial application [23]

§ 25 Gutturals

(a) On the whole the gutturals are initially preserved In G, the form *gharasta-* is not an instance of initial aspiration, for the MIA base *ghara-* is to be derived from IE **gʷhoros-*, and not from Sk *gṛha-* (for the latter derivation cf V 4 32 and H 2 144)

(b) Medially the gutturals undergo a few changes[24] which are detailed below

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22 For a similar tendency in the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Chinese Turkestan cf BURROW, §1

23 A few changes which are due to assimilation and dissimilation as well as some other exceptions are generally indicated in fns

24 Change *-k-* > *-kh-* due to assimilation Sk *akarkaśa-* > *akhakhasa-* d

1. Change of surd to sonant is instanced by *-k-* > *-g-* in the East.

Sk *-loká-* > *-loga-* j, but *-loka-* everywhere else

Sk *adhikṛtya-* > *adhigicya* bh.

The foreign name Antiochos appears as *Aṁtiyoga-* K (M), but *Aṁtiyoka-* S,G,D,J

2 Change of a guttural to *y* found with *-k-*[25] and *-g-* has occurred only in the suffix. The change is perhaps an eastern characteristic (?)

Sk. *anāyuktika-* > *anāvutiya-* d, j

Sk (*paśu-* etc) + *upa-ga-* > *upaya-* S,M,G,K,D, but *-upaga-* G, K,D,J,d,T

Sk *ardhatrika* > *adhātiya-* MRE

3 Change of a sonant to surd is instanced by *-g-* > *-k-* in the North, North-West and the South

Sk *Maga-* > *Maka-* S,M,K, but *Maga-* G Also cf the name Antigonos which appears as *Aṁtekina-* S,M,K,G

Sk. *-upa-ga-* > *-upaka-* S M, cf above for other forms

Sk *ārogya-* > **āroga-* > *āroka-* yr, but *ārogiya-* br, sd

4 Change *-gh* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk. *laghú-* > *lahu-* G,K,T

§ 26 Palatals

(a) In their initial position they are well preserved

(b) In the medial position the following few changes may be noted

1 Change of a surd to sonant is found with *-c* > *-j-* in the non-Western regions

Sk *acala-* > *ajala-* d, but *acala-* j

Sk *sāṁkuci* > *saṁkuja-* PE

2 Change of a palatal to *-y-* is instanced only by *-j-* in the North-West

Sk *Kamboja-* > *Kamboya-* S, but *-j-* is given by M,K,G

Sk *rājan-* > *raya-* S, but other edicts give the forms with *-j-*

Sk *samāja-* > *samaya-* S *samāja-* S,M,G K,D,J

3 Change of a sonant to surd is found with *-j-* > *-c-* Its appearance in the Western and North-Western regions may be attributed to the Eastern influence

Sk *Kamboja-* > *Kamboca-* D, for other forms cf above

Sk *vraja* > *vaca-* D J,G,K *vraca-* S,M √*vraca-* S

§ 27 Cerebrals

(a) The forms with initial cerebral are only conspicuous by their absence in AŚ inscriptions The loss of initial cerebralisation is found in a single instance

Sk *ḍuli-* > *duḍī-* or *daḍī-* PE

(b) In the medial position the cerebrals, with the exception of *-n-* are well preserved[26]

1 Change of *-ṭ-* > *-ḍ-* occurs in the Centre and the North

Sk *-vāṭikā-* > *-vaḍikā-* Kq, *-vadikyā-* T

2 Change *-ḍ-* > *-ḷ-* occurs in the non-Western groups

Sk *eḍaka-* > *eḷaka-* PE, but *eḍaka-* T, Rdh, Mth

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25 The forms *diyaḍha-* M,K and *diyaḍhiya-* MRE are derived from Sk *dvikārdha-* and instanced as the change *-k-* > *-y-* by HULTZSCH But these forms are to be derived from *dvyardha-*; also cf. TURNER, *Gavimath and Palkigundu Insc* p 11, n 2.

26 Only *-ṭh* > *-ṭ-* by loss of aspiration Cf, Sk, *kamaṭha-* > *kaphaṭa-* PE.

Sk *dvādaśá* > *duvāḍasa* and *duvāḷasa* PE, also cf *paṁnaḍasa* and *paṁnaḷasa* (< Sk *pañcadaśá*) in PE

3 The cerebral *-ṇ-* is usually preserved in the Western and North-Western groups and at Mysore and Kopbāl in the South Elsewhere it is changed to *-n-*.[27]

Sk *kāraṇa-* > *kāraṇa-* S,G, *kālana-* K,PE, *kāraṇa-* yr

Sk *paurāṇa-* > *porāna-* br, sd, jtr, *porāṇa-* yr

Sk *śrāvaṇa-* > *sāvana-* br, sd, jtr, kpb, *sāvaṇa-* ru,s,yr,T

§ 28 Dentals

(a) In the initial position the dentals are well preserved The change of *t-* > *d-* is found in a solitary case in the North

Sk *toṣa-* > *dosa-* K, but *toṣa-* S,M, *tosa-* G,J,d

(b) In the medial position though they are usually preserved, the following few changes may be noted

1 Change of *-t-* > *-d-* is met with in the North and the North-West

Sk *hitá-* > *hida-* S,M K, but *hita-* S,M,G,K,D,J,PE

Sk *-yātrā* > *-yadra-* M *-yātā-* G,K,D

Sk *hāpayiṣyati* > *hapeśadi* S, but *-ti* in other edicts

2 Change *-d-* > *-t-* is perhaps instanced in the East

Sk *prati√pad-* cf the forms of *paṭi√pāta-* in j The derivation of these forms is however highly doubtful The versions at d and T give forms with *paṭī√pāda-*

3 Change *-dh-* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk *nyagródha-* > *nigoha-* T, bb

Sk *vi√dhā-* > *vi√daha-* PE

4 Change *-dh-* > *-d-* by loss of aspiration

Sk **idha* > **hidha* > *hida* in all versions except G, *idha* G, JOHANSSON connects *hida* with Vedic *idā* 'now'

Sk *skandha-* > *-khamda-* G perhaps by metathesis of aspiration, but *-kamdha-* S,M,K,D

5 Loss of *-t-* and insertion of *-v-* is found in the numeral

Sk *cáturdaśa-* > *cāvudasa-* PE

6 Loss of *-d-* is met with only in the West-[28] (and the South)

Sk *tādṛśa-* > **tādrisa-* > *tārisa* G, but *tādisa-* K,D,J, *tadiśa* S,M

Sk *yādṛśa-* > **yādrisa-* > *yārisa-* G,yr but *ādisa-* K,D J,M, *yadiśa-* S

§ 29 Labials

(a) In the initial position they are well preserved[29]

1 Change of *b-* > *p-* is met with only in a single instance in the North-West

Sk *bāḍham* > *paḍhaṁ* S (but S also gives *baḍhataram*), elsewhere we get *bāḍham* or *bāḍha*

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27 As exceptions *garana-* (< Sk *garhaṇā-*) at S, *bramana-* (< Sk *brāhmaṇá-*) at M, and *khana-* (< Sk *kṣaṇa-*) at d may be noted

28 This loss of occlusion in the West compares well with the later Māhārāṣṭrī characteristic.

29 *p-* > *ph-* due to assimilation in Sk *paruṣa* > *phalusa-* d, j *p-* > *k-* due to dissimilation in Sk *pipīlikā-* > *kapīlikā* PE (*ki-* Ksb)

2 Change *bh-* > *h-* occurs only in the forms of the root √*bhū-* in all versions perhaps as an Eastern characteristic (cf *hoti*, *hotu* etc), for the forms with *bh-* occur only in the West and the North-West (cf such forms as *bhoti*, *bhavati*, *bhave*)

(b) In the medial position the following few changes which occur only in limited instances may be noted

1 Change *-p-* > *-b-* is met with only in the North at Delhi-Topra

Sk *lipi-* > *-libi-* T, but *lipi-* occurs in Major Rock Edicts, MRE and other PE (including T)

2 Change *-p-* > *-v-* is noted in a single case

Sk *pra*√*āp-* > √*pāva-* s, √*pāpa-* elsewhere

3 Change *-bh-* > *-p-* is apparently due to mistake or it may be due to assimilation

Sk *prati-bhoga-* > *paṭi-poga-* Rdh, but *-bhoga-* in other PE, S,M,K.

4 Change *-bh-* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk √*labh-* > √*laha-* d,j,kb

Sk instr pl term *-bhih* > *-hi* in all versions

5 Change *-bh-* > *-b* by loss of aspiration[30]

Sk **stubha-* > *thuba-* ng If the form is derived from Sk *stūpa-* then the change *-p-* > *-b-* is instanced

6 Change *-m* > *-ph-* by metathesis of aspiration

Sk *kamaṭha-* > **kapaṭha-* > *kaphaṭa-* PE

§ 30 Semivowels With the exception of *r* which is dialectically changed to *l* in certain groups, semivowels are normally preserved in these inscriptions

§ 31 The semi-vowel *y*

1 The semi-vowel *-y-* > *-j-* in one instance

Sk *mayūra-*[31] > *majura-* S, M *majūla-* K, J

2 It is elided both initially and intervocally In the initial position, elision occurs mostly in the indeclinables and relative pronouns

Sk *yátra* > *yatra* or *yatā* S,M,G,K,s, *ata* K,D,J,T

Sk *yáthā* > *yathā* S,M,G,K,PE,sd, *athā* K,D,J,PE

Sk *yávat* > *yava-* S,M,G,PE, ru, *āvā* or *avam* S,M,G,K,D,PE

Sk *yādṛśa-* > *yārisa-* G, *yadiśa* S *ādisa-* M,K,D,J

Sk *yat* (adverb) > *yam* Major RE and Mysore group, *am* M,K,d,j

Sk *yat* (Pron) > *ye*, *yam* or *ya* S,M,GK,MRE, *e* or *am* M,K,D,J,jtr

It can thus be noticed that the Eastern dialect drops the initial *y-* but the Western dialect favours its preservation Its occasional elision in the non-Eastern areas is very likely due to the Eastern influence

Intervocally the elision is observed exclusively in the North-Western region

Sk *priyá-* > *pria-* S (about 4 or 5 times), all other versions including S give *priya-* or *piya-*

Sk **ekatya-* > **ekatiya-* > *ekatia-* S, but *ekatiya-* K,D,J,M

Sk *dvyardha-* > **diyaḍha-* > S, but *diyaḍha-* M,K, *diyaḍhiya-* MRE

30 Similar loss of aspiration is perhaps instanced in *-ph-* > *-p-* in the form *tupaka* (gen 2nd pers. pron) at ru, but cf *tuphāka-* d, j, *tuphākam* sn

31. The G form *mora* is regarded by TURNER to be a loan word, cf *BSOS* 4 363.

It is interesting to note that in all these cases where S drops intervocal *-y-*, the Mānsehrā version which is so near to it always preserves *-y-*. But it is well-known that the latter has more 'Magadhisms

3. In some cases *-y-* is elided and *-v-* is developed mostly in the presence of *u* The tendency is seen in the non-Western regions

Sk *dīrghāyus-* > *dīghāvusa-* br, sd, jtr

Sk. *āyukti-* > *āvuti-* d, PE, but *āyuti-*[32] j

Sk *viṣaya-* > *viṣava-* S, sn, *visava-* K, but *viṣaya-* M and *visaya-* G

The interchange between *-y-* and *-v-* is also noticed in the optative term *-eyu* *-evu*

Sometimes *y-* is developed initially[33] perhaps as a non-Western characteristic

Sk *evá* > *yevā* M,K,D,J,PE, but *eva* S,K,G

§ 32 Initially *r-* is preserved in the Western and North-Western divisions[34] but is consistently changed to *l-* in other places

Sk **rájjū-ka-* > *rājuka-* S,M,G, *lajūka-* K,D,PE

Sk *rājan-* > *rājā* S,M,G,So, *lājā*, K,D,J,PE and MRE

Intervocally *-r-* submits to the same treatment as in the initial position, with only a few exceptions[35] Among MRE the South Indian inscriptions at Mysore, Kopbāḷ and Yerrāguḍi preserve *-r-* but at Maski *-r-* > *-l* (or *-r-*) Other MRE in the East and the Centre change *-r-* > *-l-*, with only a few exceptions at the latter place

Sk	G(SO)	S,M	K,D,J	PE
cárana-	*-carana-*	*-carana-*	*-calana*	*-calana*
cirá-	*cira-*	*cira-*	*cila*	*cila-*

Sk	PE	MRE Mysore, Yr, Kpb	Other MRE
paurāna-		*porāna-*, or *-na-*	
sātireka-		*sātireka-*	*sātileka-* ru
vatsara-		*-vachara-*	(*sātireka-* mk) *-vachala* s (*vachara-* ru)
cirá-		*cira-*	*cila-* s, b (*cira-* ru)
sūrya-	*-ṣuliya-* nj *-suliya-* T *-suriya-* sc		Also cf *galava-* bh, Sk *udāra-* > *uḍala-* ru, mk, s, b etc Sk √*kar-* > √*kala-* mk

§ 33 Initially *l-* is well preserved Intervocally it is changed to *-ḍ-* in just a few cases

32 This reading is accepted by HLZ Others read *āvuti-*

33 For similar development in the Niya Prakrit, cf BURROW, §32.

34. The forms of the root √*laca-* at G, S M (S has √*raca-* also) are regarded by HULTZSCH as 'Magadhisms' But in Sk itself we have √*loc-* connected with √*roc-*

35. Sk. *sāra-* > *sāla-* S, M, K, but *sāra-* G. Sk *aparibodha-* (?) > *apalibodha-* S,M,K,D

Sk *mahilā-* > *mahiḍā-* G.
Sk. *Cola-* > *Coḍa-* Major RE
Sk. *Kerala-* > *Keraḍa-* S, but *-la-* in other versions.
Sk. *ḍuli-* > *daḍi-* or *duḍi-* PE

§ 34. The semi-vowel *v*.

1 Initially *v-* is generally preserved, its stray change to *p-*[36] being due to assimilation Thus Sk *vipula-* > *pipula-* ru, elsewhere we get *vipula-*

2. In the cluster *dv*, *v* is changed to *b* in the West and North-West

Sk *dvādaśá* > *dbāḍasa-* G. *badaya-* S, but other versions give *duvādasa-* or *duvādasa-*

3 Intervocally *-v-* is normally preserved When clustered with *t*, it is changed to *-p-* in the West (cf *dv-* > *db-* above)

Sk *catvā́rah-* > *catpāro* G, *cature* S, *catāli* K.
Absolutive term *-tvā* > *-tpā* G, *-tu* in other versions

4 Intervocally *-v-* is lost only in the West [cf above §27(b) 3 and footnote]

Sk *sthavira-* > *thaira-* G

5 *v-* is initially developed[37] before *u-* in the following

Sk *ūḍha-* > *vuḍha-* S,M,G,K
Sk √*uc-* > √*vuca-* S,M,G, *vuta* G,D
Sk *upta-* > *vuta-* S

§ 35 Sibilants

In MIA languages the three Sk sibilants are often merged together into the single dental sibilant In Aś inscriptions which are the best representatives of the early MIA we find a threefold treatment of the sibilants in all their positions (i) S,M preserve the distinction between the three sibilants, (ii) the rest, except K, show only the dental sibilant *s* It is important to note that even the Eastern dialect shows *s* and not *ś*, (iii) as regards the treatment of the sibilants in K it would be best to quote the remarks made by HULTZSCH "In edicts I-IX the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Girnar one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *sh* by *s* (though *-ś-* occurs in K IV twice. cf *vaśa, Piyadasinā*) In a few cases *ṣ* is used where Sk would require it But in the majority of instances *sh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilants besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant (*s*) In other words, the letters *ś* and *sh* at Kālsī are purely graphical "[38]

Sk *śrāvaka* > *sravaka-* S, M, *srāvāpaka-* G, *sāvaka-* K, D, J
Sk *śuśrūṣā-* > *suśruṣa-* S,M, *susumsā-* G, *susūsā-* K,D,J,PE *susūsa-*, MRE
Sk *-daśá-* > *-daśa-* S,M, *-dasa-* G,K,D,J,PE (*-ḍasa-*), MRE
Sk *mánuṣa-* > *manuśa* S,M,K, *manuṣa-* K, *manusa-* G,K,D,J, *munisa-* PE, MRE, *mānuṣa-* Kpb

The following few exceptions may, however, be noted

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36 The form *vālata* at ru I. 4 is connected by BÜHLER with Sk *paratra*, but by HULTZSCH with Sk. *vāra-taḥ*

37 This is a characteristic of local pronunciation in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW §32

38. Cf. *Aś. Ins* p lxxii, also cf Jules BLOCH, "Aśoka et la Magadhi" *BSOS* 6.291-95.

(a) In the treatment of palatal *ś*.

Sk. *śuśrūṣā-* > *suśruṣa-* S,M Note the initial *s-* and not *ś-* due to dissimilation

Sk *anuśocana-* > *anusocana-* S

Sk *Śākya* > *Śaka-* mk. Note initial *ś* instead of *s-*

(b) In the treatment of the cerebral *ṣ*

Sk *abhiṣikta-* > *abhisita-* S,M, *abhiṣita-* nj Thus *-s-* and *-ṣ-* occur where they are not expected to be

Sk *mánuṣa* > *manuśa-* S,M Note *-ś-* for *-s-*

Sk *viṣaya-* > *viṣava-* sn

Sk *eṣah* > *eṣe* kq

Sk *varṣa-* > *vaṣa-* mk

The other exceptions in S and M occur in terminations cf loc pl *yesu*, gen pl *ubhayesam* (M), *ubhayesu* (S), futures in *-iśati* and *-esati* etc

(c) In the treatment of the dental *s*

Sk *saṃśayika-* > *śaśayika-* M (due to assimilation)

Sk *satya-* > *śaca-* sd

Sk *svargá-* > *śvaga-* b

Sk *śāsana-* > *śaśana-* S, M (due to assimilation)

Sk *upāsaka-* > *upāśaka-* mk

Other exceptions occur in terminations cf *ṣaṣu*, *paṃcasu* etc at S, M, *Devānāṃpiyaṣā* at kq, and *ācariyaśa* at jtr

The change of *-s-* > *-h-* is sometimes observed in the future endings like *-hatha* and *-hamti*

§ 36 The aspirate *h* is well preserved both initially and medially It is, however, lost in a few cases in the North-West

Sk *hastin-* > *asti-*[39] S,M, but *hasti* G, *hathi* D,K

Sk *ihá* > *ia* S,M , but *iha* S,M,K

Sk *máma* Pkt *maha* > *maa* S , other versions have *mama*

Sk *āha* > *aa* M (once VI 26), otherwise we get *āhā*

Sk *ahám* > *aam* M, but *aham* or *hakam* elsewhere

There are certain instances of cockneyism where *h-* is developed initially before a vowel cf

Sk *īdṛśa-* > *heḍisa-* K *hedisa-* D,J sn, but *edisa-* S,M, *edisa-* K,D,J, *etārisa-* (< Sk *etādṛśa-*) G

Sk *evam* > *hevam* K,d,j,T,Rp,MRE, but *evam* S,M,K,D,G

Sk **i-tra* > *hetā* So,K,D,J,kq,s, but *etra*, S,M, *eta*, G,D

§ 37 Palatalisation

By the law of palatalisation sometimes the dentals and occasionally even the gutturals are palatalised mostly in the presence of the vowel *i* or the semi-vowel *y* Except the palatalisation of *-k-* and *-g-* in the North, and that of *-t-* in the East, this feature is mainly a characteristic of the West and the North-West (and also of the South)

1 Gutturals Following gutturals are palatalised in the circumstances noted below

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39. This is HULTZSCH's reading, others read *hasti-*.

(i) The gutturals -*k*- and -*g*- are palatalised[40] at K and T in the North
Sk. *nikāyá*- > *nikyāya* K, but *nikāya*- elsewhere
Sk. *sthitika*- > -*ṭhitikya*- K, but -*ṭhitika*- or -*thitika*- elsewhere
Sk *Kalinga*- > *Kaligya*- K, *Kalimga*- elsewhere
Sk **aṣṭa-krośika*- > *aḍha-kosikya*- T
Sk *āmra-vāṭikā*- > *amba vaḍikyā*- T

(ii) Intervocal -*kh*- when combined with *y* is once palatalised in G
Sk *san* √*khyā*- > *sachāya* G, but *saṃkhaya* S,M, and *saṃkhaye* K

(iii) Cluster *kṣ* The treatment of this cluster is interesting inasmuch as in all positions it is palatalised in the West and the North-West,[41] but assimilated to the guttural *kh* elsewhere
Sk *kṣudrá*- > *chuda*-[42] G, but *khuda*- K,D,J,MRE
Sk *kṣana*- > *chana*- S,M,G, but *khana*- d, j
Sk *mokṣa*- > *mocha*- S,M, but *mokha*- K,D,J
Sk *pakṣi*- > *pakhi*- PE

2 Dentals The following dentals, mostly in combination with *y*, are palatalised We get a few instances of initial palatalisation also

(i) Dental *t*- is initially palatalised in the East in the presence of the palatal vowel *i*-
Sk *tiṣtha*- > √*ciṭha*- M,K,D, but √*tiṭha*- S, √*tiṣṭa*- G

(ii) Cluster -*ty*- It is mostly palatalised in the regions other than the Eastern, where it is dissolved into -*tiy*-
Sk *ātyayika*- > *acayika*, S,M, *atiyāyika*- K,D,J
Sk *satya*- > *saca*- PE, br, jtr, yr
Sk *adhikṛtya* > *adhigicya* bh, *kaca*- G

(iii) Cluster -*ts*- (or -*tsy*) The cluster -*ts*- is palatalised in the West and the South but assimilated to *s* elsewhere
Sk *saṃvatsará*- > *saṃvachala*- s, -*chara*- ru, bi, sd, jtr, kpb, yr
Sk *cikitsā*- > *cikīcha*- G, *cikisā*- S M,K,D,J

But when the cluster -*ts* does not occur in the body of the word but is due to the combination of consonants, it is assimilated to *s* everywhere
Sk *ut-sāha*- > *usāha*- PE
Sk *ut-srta*- > *usata*- S,M,G,D,J, *uṣaṭa*- K

The cluster -*tsy*- > -*ch*- in PE
Sk *matsya*- > *macha*- PE

(iv) Cluster -*dy*- is however, generally palatalised everywhere
Sk *adyá* > *aja* S,M,G,K,D,J
Sk *prati*-√*pad-ya* > (*paṭi*-)*pajaṃtu* PE

But when the cluster -*dy*- does not occur in the body of the word it is assimilated to *y*

40 See HULTZSCH p LXXI and J BLOCH, *L'Indo-Aryan*, p 78 Similar palatalisation of -*k*- in the suffix is observed a little later in the word *devadaśikyi* in the Jogimārā cave inscription at Rāmagarh (Dist Sirguja, Chhota Nagpur Division)

41 It is found in the form *ch* in the Niya Prakrit cf BURROW, § 48

42 The exceptional cases are *khuda*- or *khudra*- S, M, *chana*- K and (*a*)*jhakha*- (< Sk *adhyakṣa*-), and *samkhita*- (< Sk *sankṣipta*-) G (S)

Sk. *ud-yāna-* > *uyāna-* S,M,G,K,D,J
Sk. *ud-yāma-* > *uyāma-* K

(v) Cluster *-dhy-* is palatalised to *-jh-* in all regions But the cluster *-dh-y-* is palatalised only in the West (and North-West)

Sk *madhyama-* > *majhama-* G, *majhima-* K,d,j,PE
Sk **nidhyapti-* > *nijhati-* Major RE, *ni√jhapa-* PE

But Sk *a-vadh-yá-* > *avadhiya-* T,Mi,Ksb, *avadhya-* T,Rdh,Mth,Rp

Rk *adh-y-akṣa-* > *-(a)jhakha-* G, *-(a)jhacha-* M, but *-(a)dhiyakha-* K, *-(a)dhiyacha-* S

(vi) For the palatalisation of nasals *n* and *ṇ* see below under the treatment of clusters *ny* and *ṇy*, §49 and §50

(vii) Sibilant *ś-*[43] > *c-* in a few cases in the East and thence in the Centre and the South

Sk √*śak-* > √*caka-* d,j,s,b,Kpb, but √*saka-* elsewhere

§ 38 Cerebralisation

By the law of cerebralisation dentals are turned into cerebrals mostly in the presence of *r*, vocalised or unvocalised, sometimes with a sibilant, and in very few cases even without any influence It will be observed that the Western dialect is the least affected by cerebralisation

1 Cerebralisation of the dental *t* It is generally cerebralised in regions other than the West

(i) Change *-(ṛ)t-* > *-ṭ-*

Sk *kṛta-* > *kaṭa-* S,M,K,D,PE,MRE, but *kata-* G
Sk *bhṛta-* > *bhaṭa-* S,M,K,D, but *bhata-* G
Sk *nirvṛtta-* > *nivuṭa-* S,M

(ii) Change *-rt-* > *-ṭ-*

Sk *kartavya-* > *kaṭava-* or *kaṭaviya* S,M,K,D,J,PE,MRE, but *katavya* G
Sk *kīrti-* > *kiṭī-* M,D J, *kiṭri-* S, but *kīti-* G,K

By way of exception *-rt-* > *-ṭ-* in G in the word *saṃvaṭa-* < Sk *saṃvarta-*

(iii) Change *(-r)t-* > *-ṭ-*

Sk *prati-* > *paṭi-* in all versions including G though G gives *prati-* about four times

(iv) Change *st* > *ṭh* occurs very rarely, for usually it is assimilated to *th*

Sk *stambha* > *ṭhabha-* ru, but *-thabha-* or *-thambha-* T,ru,s
Sk *āśvasta-* > *asvaṭha-* Mi (once), but *asvatha-* PE
Sk *anuśasti-* > *anusaṭhi-* K, So, but *-anusathi-* K,D,J,T, *anusasṭi-* and *-sasti-* G, *-anuśasti-* C,M Thus here in G, *t* in combination with *s* is cerebralised to *-sṭ-* (cf the change *-sth-* > *-sṭ-* in G below)

2 Cerebralisation of the dental *th* It is normally not cerebralised in the West except when the dental is combined with a sibilant

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43 Initial palatalisation of *s-* > *ch-* is perhaps instanced in Sk *saṃvatsará-* > *chavachara-* at ru. This change is due to assimilation But HULTZCH and THOMAS consider this form to be a mistake for *savachara-*, which occurs in the other MRE Earlier this form was derived by scholars from Sk *ṣaṭ-vatsara-*

(i) Change *-rth-* > *-ṭh-*

Sk *ártha-* > *aṭha-* S,K,D,J,PE and MRE, but *atha-* G,S,M,K,J

(ii) Change *-(r-)th-* > *-ṭh-*

Sk *nirgrantha-* > *nigaṃṭha-* T

(iii) Change *sth* > *ṭh* or *sṭ* (in G) in a few cases, otherwise the cluster is assimilated to *th*

Sk *sthitika* > *ṭhitika-* M,K,D,J,Ksb,MRE, but *-thitika-* S,T,Mi,Rdh, Mth, sc

Sk *sthitá-* > *sṭita-* G

Sk *anasthika-* (or *an-ásthika-*) > *anaṭhika* PE, but *anathika-* Ksb

3 Cerebralisation of the dental *d*

(i) Cluster *-rd-* is never assimilated to a cerebral

Sk *mārdava-* > *mādava-* G,K,T

Sk *cāturdaśa-* > *cāvudasa-* PE

(ii) Change *-(r-)d-* > *-ḍ-*

Sk *tri-daśa-* > *treḍaśa-* M, but *tidaśa-* S, *tedasa-* K,D

(iii) Change *-d(r)-* > *-ḍ-*

Sk *īdṛśa-* > *hedisa* K but *hedisa-* S,K,D,sn *edisa-* S M

(iv) Change *-d(-r)-* > *-ḍ-*

Sk *udāra-* > *uḍāla* or *uḍāra-* MRE

(v) * Change *-d-* > *-ḍ-* in numerals (other than *tri dasa*)

Sk *dvādasa-* > *duvāḍasa-* K,PE,MRE, *duvaḍasa-* (also *-dasa-*) M, but *duvādasa-* D,J

Sk *pañcadaśá-* > *paṃnaḍasa-* and *-ḍasa-* PE, *paṃcadasa-* Ksb

4 Cerebralisation of the dental *dh* In combination with *r* it is generally not cerebralised in the West But it is cerebralised under the influence of *s*

(i) Change *-(r)dh-* > *ḍh-*

Sk *vṛddhi-* > *vaḍhi-* Major RE, PE ru, but *vadhi-* G

Sk *vṛddhá-* > *vuḍha-* So, S,D,J, *vuḍha-* K, *vuḍhra-* M

(ii) Change *-rdh-* > *-ḍh-*

Sk *dvyardha-* > *diyaḍha-* M,K, *diaḍha-* S, *diyaḍhiya-* MRE

Sk *vardh-* > *vaḍha-* Major RE, PE, MRE, but √*vadha-* G,M, *vadhita-* K, *vadhrita-* M (< Sk *vardhita-*)

(iii) Change *-(ṣ-)dh* > *-ḍh-*

Sk *auṣadhá-* > *oṣuḍha-*[44] S, *asuḍha-* G, but *osadha-* K,D,J

5 Cerebralisation of the dental *n* This nasal is usually well preserved in all positions and in all versions It is, however, initially changed to *ṇ-* only in the Kopbal version and perhaps once in the Jaugaḍa separate edict In the intervocal position its cerebralisation is met with usually in the West and the North-West

Sk *nó* > *ṇo* Kpb, but *no* elsewhere

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44 Prof TURNER would like to derive these forms from **oṣṛdha* The presence of the cerebral in the Girnar version and that of dental in the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions precludes such derivation, for as has been noted above the dentals after *ṛ* are generally not cerebralised in G, but they regularly undergo this change in the Eastern dialect.

Sk *ni-√dhyā-* > *ni-√jhapa*[45] J, but *ni-√jhapa-* PE, and *nijhati-* MRE,
Sk. *dárśana* > *dasana-* G, *dasana-* G,K,D,J,So, *draśana-* M
Sk *pra-√āp-nu-* > *prā-√puna-* G,S, *pā-√puna-* K,d,J
Sk *mánuśa-* > *mānusa-* Kpb, other versions give forms with dental *-n-*
Sk *idānīm* > *dāni* Kpb, but *dāni* ru, mk, yr

In Sk. the dental *-n-* of the terminations becomes *-ṇ-* after *r* or *ṣ*. This *-ṇ-* is replaced by the dental *-n-* in all versions except those in the Mysore group and the one at Kopbal in the South[46] and rarely in J in the East

Sk. *putréṇa* > *putena* or *putrena* Major RE
Sk *lipikareṇa* > *lipikareṇa* Mysore group
Sk *várṣāṇi* > *vasāṇi* Kpb
Sk *sárveṇa* > *saveṇā* J, but *savena* d, J

In a few cases the dental is cerebralised even when Sk does not require it

Sk *laukikena* > *lokikeṇa* J
Sk. *Devānām-* > *Devāṇam-* br, jtr, Kpb and S (once), but *Devānam-* yr, sd and in other versions

Also cf *adhatiyāṇi* and *sātirekāṇi* at Kpb

6 Cerebralisation of clusters with nasals Such cerebralisation is met with in very few cases

(i) Cerebralisation of *-ny-* > *-ṇ-* is an exceptional characteristic of the Mānsehrā version

Sk *anyá-* > *aṇa-* M, other versions (including M) give forms with *-n-* or *-ñ-*
Sk *√man-ya-* > *√maṇa-* M other versions have *-n-* or *-ñ-*

(ii) Cerebralisation of the cluster *jñ* is observed in two distant regions viz the North-West and the South

Sk *ā√jña-pa* > *ā√ṇapa-* S,M,br, other versions have *-n-* or *-ñ-*

§ 39 Treatment of final consonants Consonants in their final position are generally dropped in Aś inscriptions as in other Prakrits Thus the abl sg term of mas and neut nouns in *-a* is *-ā* < *-āt*

Also note the following

Sk *yāvat* > *yāva* S, PE, *āvā* Major and Pillar edicts
Sk *bhavet* > *bhave* G
Sk *punar* > *punā* S,M G,K, *pana* S,M,D,J
Sk *syāt* > *siyā* K,d,J,PE, MRE, *siya* S,M,J,PE
Sk *manāk* > *minā* PE

It will be noticed that the final vowel if short is sometimes lengthened and vice versa (Also cf the treatment of the final vowels)

The word *palisā* < Sk *pariṣad* occurs in K,D,J HULTZSCH quotes this as an

45 This is HULTZSCH'S reading Others read *ni* , also cf TURNER, *Gavimath Inscr* p 1, f note 3

46 As an exception the dental *-n-* is preserved in such cases as Khudakena (*-ḍa-* kpb), *pakamaminena* (*-nena* kpb)

47 A few consonants at the end are, however, preserved in Samdhi cf Sk *evam* + *api* > *evampai* G Sk. *evam* + *eva* > *evameva* S, M, K, *hemeva* d, J, PE, br, sd, jtr Sk *etad* + *artha* > *etdatha-* T,

example of the lengthening of the final vowel due to the loss of the final consonant TURNER objects to this explanation and points out that *parisad* first changes to *palisa*, and then *palisā* in conformity with the existing fem. endings[48]

Since the final consonants are dropped, the final *-m* and *-n* are also dropped in these inscriptions and then the preceding vowels are nasalised

Sk *dānam* > *danam* Major Rock and Pillar Edicts

Sk *dharmam* > G,K,D,*dhramam* S,M

But this anusvāra at the end is not always represented in writing Thus we get such forms as *dana* S,M, *dhamma* J *katavya* G, etc.

§ 40 Nasalisation

Sometimes a nasal is introduced in some words in these inscriptions in order to mark the doubling of the following consonant when the preceding vowel is shortened

Sk *trīni* > *timni* K,D,J,PE, but *tini* M,K

Sk *√bhū-* > *ahumsu* G

Sk *śuśrūṣā-* > *susumsā-* G

Sometimes a nasal is introduced in order to break hiatus

Sk *anya-anya-* > *añam-amña-* G, *añam-aña-* S, *amnam-ana-* K

In certain cases, however, it is introduced without any apparent reason

Sk *prakrti-* > *pamkiti-* sd, but *pakiti-* br, sd, jtr

Sk *vi√śvas* > *vi√samvasa-* sn

Sk **mslistakā-*[49] > *nimsidhayā-* PE

Sk *yāvat* > *avam* K

Sk *ca* > *cam* bh

Sk *pāratrika-* > *pālamtikya-* K (HULTZSCH'S reading)

Sk *miśradeva-* > *misamdeva-* s (HULTZSCH'S reading)

III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 41 The clustered consonants are assimilated or dissolved through many a process in MIA in general Aśokan inscriptions prove no exception to this general treatment adopted by other MIA languages, except that a few clusters and especially those formed with *-r-* are preserved mostly in the North-West and the West This North-Western characteristic is apparent even today in the group of Dardic languages[50] Space forbids here an elaborate treatment of all clusters in the Aśokan inscriptions[51] Hence only the treatment of important clusters is discussed below, omitting such clusters as exemplify normal assimilation The process of palatalisation and cerebralisation in clusters is already discussed above §§ 37, 38

§ 42 Clusters with Stops Under this head we will specially consider clusters formed with semi-vowels and sibilants + stops

1 *r* + stops The following remark by HULTZSCH must be noted before we actually come to deal with the clusters " As at Girnar there is (in S,M) some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants " The order of the

48 *BSOS* 4.364

49 For this form see LÜDERS *SPAW*, 1914, 852, for the change *śl* > *ms* cf PISCHEL, *Gr* §74

50 Cf GRIERSON, *JRAS* 1904 725-31

51 For this cf *BDÇRI* 3,270 ff,

symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations (BUHLER, *ZDMG* 43 133)" Thus *r* is sometimes combined with the preceding akṣara or is attached to the following consonant But "it must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation" [52]

Therefore in the following examples whether the letter *r* occurs with the preceding syllable or the following consonant, its presence in the word is to be regarded as an illustration of the preservation of the original Sk conjunct

As noted above the clusters with *r* + stops are as a rule assimilated in all versions except those in the North-West Below are mentioned a few examples to show the preservation in the North-West

Sk *várga-* > *vaga-* K,D,J, *vagra-* S,M

Sk *svargá-* > *svaga-* G,K,D,J,MRE, *spagra-* S,M

Sk *garbhāgāra-* > *gabhāgāra-* or *-la-* G,K,D,J, *grabhagara-* S,M

(For the special treatment of *r* + dentals cf above cerebralisation § 38)

2 *ṣ* + stops In the cluster *-ṣṭ-* the unaspirated surd is aspirated in assimilation The cluster *-ṣṭh-* is preserved only in the West in the form *-st-* The cerebral articulation is sometimes lost in the treatment of this cluster

Sk *aṣṭamī-* > *aṭhamī-* PE, *aṭha-* S M K

Sk *vyuṣṭa-* > *vyūṭha-* ru and yr, *vyūtha* br *vivutha-* s

Sk *śréṣṭha-* > *sreṭha* S M, *seṭha-* K but *sesta-* G

Sk √*tiṣṭh-* > √*tiṭha-* S, √*ciṭha-* M,K,D, but √*tista* G

In the case of *ṣ* + *k*, the resulting form appears without aspiration

Sk *duṣkṛta-* > *dukaṭa-* S M,K D *dukata-* G

Sk *duṣkara-* > *dukara-* S M G, *dukala-* K D J

3 *s* + stops The cluster *-st-* is preserved in S M G but assimilated to *-th* elsewhere The cluster *-sth-* is, however, preserved only in the West (For cerebralisation see above § 38)

Sk *hastin-* > *hasti-* S,M,G *hathi-* K D,yi

Sk *gṛhastha-* > *gahatha-* M K, *grahatha* S *gihitha-* T, but *gharasta-* G

In the treatment of the cluster *-sk-*, aspiration appears only in the West

Sk *skandhá* > *-khamda-* G (perhaps due to metathesis of aspiration), but *-kaṁdha-* S,M,K,D

§ 43 Clusters with *y* Such clusters are either assimilated, preserved or dissolved The regional distinction, wherever possible, is noted below

1 Clusters with stop + *y* In spite of numerous exceptions, it may be said that the cluster is normally assimilated in the West and the North West dissolved in the East and sometimes preserved in the South and the Centre

(i) *-ky-* > *-k-*, *-ky-* or *-kiy-*

Sk *śakya-* > *śaka-* S, *saka-* G, sd, mk, *sakya-* br sd *cakya-* b, *sakiya-* J, ru, sn, yr, *cakiya* d, j, Kpb

(ii) *-khy-* > *-kh-*, *-khy-* or *-khiy-*

52 HULTZSCH, p lxxxvii Doubts on this opinion have been already expressed by GRIERSON, cf *JRAS* 1913 682-83, and recently by S N SEN *Kane Comm Vol* pp 417-19.

Sk. *mukhya-* > *mukha-* S,M,K,T, *mokhya-* d,PE, *mokhiya-* j.

(iii) *-gy-* > *-giy-*, *-gy-* or *-k-* (< *-g-*)

Sk. *ārogya-* > *ārogiya-* br, sd, but *āroka-* yr

Sk *yugya-* > *yūgya-* yr

(iv) For dentals + *y* see above palatalisation § 37

The treatment of the cluster *dvy-* > *diy-* (or *dia-* due to loss of *-y-*), may, however, be noted here

Sk. *dvyardha-* > *diyadha-* M, K, *diyaḍhiya* MRE, *diaḍha-* S

(v) *-bhy-* > *-bh-*, *-bhy-*, *-bhiy-*

Sk *ibhya-* > *-ibha* S,K, *-ibhya-* M, *-ibhiya-* D,J

Sk *ā√rābh-ya-* > *ārabhare* G, *ārabhisu* M, *ālabhiya-* K,D,J and *arabhiya-* S,M

2 Cluster *ry* The cluster is assimilated to *-y-* or dissolved by svarabhakti It may be noted that this cluster as well as the following *ly* are more or less regularly preserved in the Niya Prakrit cf BURROW, § 42

Sk *marya-* or *-ārya* > *maya-* S,M G,K,D, *aya-* everywhere, but *aliya-* bh

Sk *mādhurya-* > *madhuriya-* S,M, *madhuliya-* K,D,J

Sk *ācārya* > *ācariya-* br, sd, jtr, yr

Sk *sūrya-* > *-sūriyika* sc, *-suliyika-* 1

3 Cluster *ly* It is assimilated to *-l-* in the West and the North-West and to *-y-* in the East, Centre and the North

Sk *kalyāna-* > *kalāna-* S,M,G, *kayana-* M, *kayāna-* K,D,PE

4 Cluster *vy* It is assimilated to *v* in the North-West, preserved in the West[53] (and sometimes in the South and the Centre) and dissolved by svarabhakti in other regions

Sk *vyañjana-* > *vañana-* S, *viyajana-* M, *viyamjana* K,D,J,Sn *vayajana-* ru, *vyamjana-* G

Sk *vyuṣṭa-* > *vivutha-* s, but *vyūtha-* br, *vyūṭha-* ru, yr

Sk *kartavya-* > *kaṭava-* S, *kaṭaviya-* M,K,D,J,PE,sd, jtr, yr *katavya-* G

5 Sibilant + *y* It is generally assimilated or dissolved, or rarely preserved

Sk *prativeśya-* > *-veśiya-* S,M, *-vesiya-* K,G

Sk *dūṣya-* > *dusa-* sn, sc, kb

Sk *ālasya-* > *alasiya-* d, but *ālasya-* j

Sk *īrṣyā-* > *isā-* d, j, but *isyā-* PE

Sometimes the change *-sy-* > *-s-* is observed in the North-West[54] cf for instance the future term

Sk *ārabhiṣyanti* > *arabhisamti* S,M

Sk *manuṣya-* > *manuśa* S,M, *manuṣa-* K, *manusa-* elsewhere

§ 44 Clusters with *r* Such clusters are normally assimilated to the stop with which the semivowel *r* is combined But sometimes the cluster is preserved in the North-West and the West (and rarely in the Mysore group) both initially and medially

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53 Cf however Sk *pūjayitavya-* > *pūjetaya-* G.

54 For similar change in the Niya Prakrit, cf BURROW §41

1 Gutturals + *r*

Sk *ati√kram-* > *ati√kama-* K,D,J,T, but *ati√krama-* S,M,G. G has *atikāta-* and *parikama-* also

Sk. *cakravāka-* > *cakavāka-* PE

Sk *prakrānta-* > *pakamta-* MRE

Sk *agra-* > *aga-* K,D,J,G,PE, *agra* S,M

2 Dentals + *r* The cluster is sometimes preserved even in the South

Sk *trī, trīni* > *tini* or *tiṁni* M,K,D,J,PE, *tī* G, but *trayo* S and *trī* G,

Sk *putrá-* > *puta-* G,K,J,T,sc, *putra-* S,M,G

Sk *tátra* > *tata* G,K,d,j,T,s, *tatrā* G,S,M

Sk *√dṛh-* > *drahitavya-* > *drahyitavya-* br, sd, jir

Sk *ardhatrika-* > *aḍhātiya-* MRE

3 Labials + *r* Here the cluster is sometimes preserved even in the Central and Southern division

Sk *prajā́-* > *pajā* K,D,J,PE, *prajā*, S,M,G

Sk *prakāsa-* > *prakāsa-* ru

Sk *prasāda* > *prasāda-* S,M,G,bh, *pasāda-* K

Sk *prakrānta-* > *prakamta-*[55] br, *pakamta-* ru sd, Kpb, yi (*pakata*)

Sk *prāna-* > *prāna-* G,S, yr, *prana* M, *pāna-* elsewhere

But cf *pr-* > *p-* in G and M

Sk *prakarana-* > *pakarana-* G,M, *pakalana-* K,D also *prakarana-* S,G

The clusters *br-* and *bhr-* almost follow the usual tendencies

Sk *brāhmana-* > *brāhmana-* S,M, *baṁbhana-* So,K *bābhana-* D,J,T, *bamana* M, *bāmhana-* G

Sk *bhrātr* > *bhrātra-* G, *bhrata-* S,M, *bhata-* K,D,J,M

4 Cluster *vr* It is preserved only in the North-West

Sk *vraja-* > *vraca-* S,M, *vaca-* G,K,D,J

Sk *pravrajita-* > *pravrajita-* S,M, *pavajita* G,K,T

5 Clusters with sibilant + *r* They are regularly preserved in S,M, and sometimes in G, other versions assimilate it to the sibilant

Sk *√śru-nu-* > *√śruna-* S,M, *√sruna-* G *√suna-* K, *√su-* K,T,bh,d,j *√sāvāpa-* T,br,sd

Sk *sahásra-* > *sahasra* S,M,G, *sahasa-* S,[56]D,J,PE

Sk *parisrava-* > *parisrava-* S,G, *-parisava-* M, *palisava-* D,J, (*-lā-* K)

Sk *misrá-* > *misa-* MRE

§ 45 Clusters with *v*

1 Clusters with stops + *v* in the initial position are dissolved and in the medial position assimilated in the non-Western regions They are preserved in all positions only in the West with these phonetic changes, that *tv* > *tp* and *dv* > *db*

Sk *kvāpi* > *kuvāpi* K

Sk *dví-* > *duvi* S, *duve* M,K,J *duvehi* T, *dve* or *dvo* G

Sk *dvādaśá* > *duvadaśa-* M, *duvādasa-* D,J, *-dasa-* K,PE,bb, *badaya-* S, *dbādasa-* G

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55 HULTZSCH's reading

56 Thus *sahasa-* in S and *parisava-* in M are exceptions.

Sk *catvāraḥ* > *cature* S, *catāli* K (> Sk *catvāri*), *catpāro* G
Sk. absolutive term. *-tvā* > *-tu* S,M,K,D,J,PE, *-tpā* G
Sk *ṣáḍ-viṃśati* > *saḍuvīsati* PE.

2 Semivowel *r* + *v* The cluster is generally preserved in the West and the North-West, but dissolved or assimilated elsewhere.

Sk *sárva-* > *sava-* in all versions, *sarva-* G, *savra-* S,M
Sk *pū́rva-* > *-puva-* G, *-puluva-* K,D,J, *-pruva-* S,M,G

3 Sibilant + *v* The cluster in the initial position is preserved in the West and the North-West[57] (in the form *sp*), and it is either assimilated or dissolved by svarabhakti elsewhere.

Sk. *svāmi-ka-* > *svāmika-* G, *spamika-* S,M, *suvāmika-* K,D,J
Sk *śvetá-* > *sveta-* G, *seta-* PE

In *svaga-* (< Sk *svargá-*), however, it is initially preserved in all versions[58] (*spagra-* S,M)

In the intervocal position it is preserved everywhere

Sk *śāśvatá-* > *sasvata-* d,j
Sk *áśva-* > *asva-* PE

§ 46 Clusters with sibilants

1 For the treatment of *kṣ* and *ts* see above palatalisation §37

2 *r* + sibilant Whereas S,M,G, preserve the cluster, others assimilate it to the sibilant

Sk *dárśana-* > *dasana-* G,So,K,D,J, *draśana-* S,M, *darsana-* G
Sk *-darśin-* > *-dasi-* G,K,D,J,PE, bh, bb, *-draśi*, S,M, *-drasi-* G

3 Clusters with *h*

Almost everywhere the cluster *-rh-* is dissolved by the addition of the vowel *a*

Sk *garhā, garhaṇā-* > *garahā* G,M, *galahā-* K, √*garaha-* S,M,G, but *garana-* S
Sk *yathārha-* > *yathāraha-* br,sd,jtr

§ 47 Clusters with nasals Such clusters are usually assimilated to the nasal or to the stop and then the nasal is turned into anusvāra This anusvāra, however, is not always represented in writing The clusters with *ñ*, *n*, *n* and *m* show some peculiarities and only these are detailed below

§ 48 Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

1 *jñ* The cluster is usually assimilated to *ñ* in the West, North-West,[59] and South, and to *n* in the East and the Centre (For cerebralisation see above §38)

Sk *jñāti-* > *ñāti-* G,br,sd,jtr, *nāti-* K,D,J,PE
Sk *vijñapti-* > *vinati-* kq, √*vimnapa-* sn

In the declined forms of *rājan-* the cluster is sometimes dissolved by svarabhakti

Sk *rājñā-* > *rāñā* S,G, *rājina* M,So, *lājinā*, K,D,J,rm,[illegible]

2 *ñc* It is represented as *-ṁc-* or *-mn-* in the numeral

Sk, *páñca-* > *paṁca-* S,M,G,K,D,J,ksb, *paṁna-* PE

57 The cluster *śv* > *śp* and *sv* > *śv* or *śp* in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW, [illegible]
58. In s 1.4, however, HULTZSCH reads *swaga-*
59. *jñ* > *ñ* (or *n*) in the Niya Prakrit, cf BURROW § 44

3 *ñj* It is generally represented as *-mj-* or *-j-*, but in the North-West it is assimilated to *ñ* [60]

Sk. *vyañjana-* > *vyamjana-* G, *viyamjana-* K,D,J,sn *vayajana-* ru, *viyajana-* M, *vañana-* S

§ 49 Clusters with the nasal *n*

1 *rn* In its assimilation the cerebral articulation is preserved in the Mysore group but it is lost in PE

Sk *suvárna-* > *suvamna-* br,sd

Sk *pūrná-* > *puṁna-* PE

2 *-kṣn-* > *-khin-* Sk *ślakṣná-* > *sakhina-* d, Sk *abhikṣna-* > *abhikhina-* bh.

3 *ny* In the North-West and the West the cluster is assimilated to *ñ* (but in G also to *n*), but elsewhere to *n*

Sk. *apunya-* > *apuña-* S,M *apumña-* G, *apuna-* K

Sk *híranya-* > *hiramna-* G,So, *hilamna-* K,D,J

§ 50 Clusters with *n* The only important cluster to note is *ny* Other clusters with *n* are assimilated to the stop (as in Sk *agni-* > *agi* M,K,D,G) or dissolved (as in Sk *pra√āp-nu-* > *pāpuna-* or *-na-* G,S,K,D,J, or *prasná-* > *-pasina-* bh)

1 *ny* It is assimilated to *ñ* in the West and North-West,[61] but to *n* elsewhere (for cerebralisation see above § 38)

Sk *anyá-* > *aña-* S,M,G,So, *amna-* K,D,J,PE, *ana-tra* M, *ana-* M

Sk *√manya-* > *√maña-* S,M,G, *√mana-* K,d,J, (*√mana-* M)

§ 51 Clusters with *m*

1 *-tm-* Except in the West and the South where it is preserved as *-tp-*, it is normally assimilated to *t*

Sk *ātmán-* > *ata-* S,M,K,d,J,PE, *ātpā* G, *mahātpā* br,sd,yr Kopbāl though in South gives *mahata-*

2 *-sm-*[62] (or *-ṣm-*) Note the following interesting treatments It is either preserved (as *sm* or *sp*) or assimilated to *mh* or *s* In the pronominal forms it usually becomes *-ph-*

Sk *akasmāt* > *akasmā* d,j

Sk loc sg *-smin* > *-mhi* G, *-spi* S,M, *-si* elsewhere

Sk *tasmāt* > *taphā* K

Vedic *asme* > *aphe* d,J, similarly * *tuṣmat-* > *tupha-* d,J,ru,sn,yr

In the grammatical form *asmi* initial *a-* is lost and then the cluster is dissolved cf *sumi* ru, s, mk, Kpb

3 *-hm-* The following forms may be noted

Sk *brāhmaṇá-* > *bramana-* S,M, *brahmana-* G, *bāmhana-* G, *bambhana-* So,K,yr, *bābhana-* K,D,J,T

4 *-my-* It is sometimes preserved

Sk. *samyak* > *samma-* S, but *saṁmyā-* D,J, *samyā-* K, *samya-* G,M

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60 Precisely the same tendency is observed in the Niya Prakrit documents and the process is most regular in the *Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada*, cf BURROW, §45.

61. The same treatment is also found in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW, §41.

62 The cluster *-sm-* > *-s* in the loc. term. or is preserved in the Niya Prakrit, cf BURROW, §49

5 *-mr-* · As is well known, it becomes *-mb-*
Sk. *āmra-* > *aṁbā-* PE
Sk *Tāmraparṇī-* > *Taṁbapaṁni-* S,M,G,K,J, *-paṁ-* M

MORPHOLOGY

I DECLENSION

(A) Nouns

§ 52 The complex declensional system of the OIA is much simplified in these inscriptions by the well-known processes which were active in the MIA period Thus, for example, the dual is altogether lost and the consonantal bases are mostly transferred to the vowel bases On the other hand in endings we do not yet meet with the same variety of forms which are so widely used in the later literary Prakrits The geographical distinction in the declensional system of these inscriptions, especially between the East and the West, is noted below in all such cases which admit of such distinction Exceptions to these generalisations, whenever they occur, are also recorded in each case

§ 53 Mas and Neut Nouns ending in *-a*

(i) Nom sg Mas principally ends in *-a* and *-e* Of these, the former is more frequently used than the latter in G,S,M and the latter in K,D,J,PE and MRE

jano G,S, *jane* K,M,D,J,T, *aṭhe* MRE

(a) The ending *-o* is, however, sometimes found in the East and *-e* in the West and North-West cf *rājuke, sakale,* etc in G, *jane, vivade,* etc in S,M, and *Keralaputo* in K, *seto* in D

(b) The ending *-a* (the original *-s* in *-as* being dropped) is of rare occurrence cf *jana* S, *vadha* K, [*sampa*]*ṭipāda* d, and *yāvataka* ru

(c) The foreign name *Amtekina-* in G ends in *-a,* but it ends in *i* at S The other name *Maga-* ends in *-ā* in G and K

(ii) Acc sg Mas ends in *-am* or *-a* (with the loss of final anusvāra) everywhere

janam G,PE, *dhramam* or *jana* S, *dhamminam* K,D,J, *samgham* MRE

(a) In S, M we sometimes get the ending *-o* or *-e* cf *dhramo,* and *sayame*

(b) In K exceptionally the ending *-ā* is found cf *ata-pāsaḍā*

(iii) Nom Acc sg Neut These nouns end in *-am* in G,S,M In other edicts we get *-am* only for the acc sg whereas *-e* is found for nom sg

Nom sg *dānam* G,S,M, but *dāne* K,D,J,PE, *phale* MRE

Acc sg *mamgalam* D,J, *dānam* K,PE, *vipulaṁ* MRE

(a) In G,S,M, we get in a few cases the ending *-e* for nom sg, as in the East and in K,D,J,jtr, and yr, we get *-aṁ* as in the West cf *dāne* G,S,M, *jīvam* K,D,J, *likhitam* jtr, *saca* and *kaṭaviya* (with the loss of final anusvāra) yr

(b) In a few gerundives we have *-o* in S cf *kaṭavo*

(c) Sometimes we get *-ā* for nom sg in K,D,J, cf *ādisā* K, *kaṭaviya-talā* D,J.

(d) In d and K sometimes the acc. sg also ends in *-e*, cf. *ānaṁne* d, *dāne* K.

(iv) Inst. sg ends in *-ena* everywhere
janena G, *putrena* S,M, *putena* D,J, *dhaṁmena* PE, etc, *khudakena* K,D,J, MRE.
(a) The final *-na* is sometimes lengthened, cf *bhayenā* PE, *-abhisitenā* MRE
(b) Cerebralised term. occurs sometimes in the South cf *lipigarena* br,jtr, *mahatena* Kpb

(v) Dat. sg · ends in *-ya* in West, Centre, and South but *-ye* elsewhere
athāya G, *kālāya* ru, *aṭhāya* ru,br,Kpb,yr, *aṭhāye* S,M,D,J,K,t,s
(a) Once in G and T the dat sg ends in *-ā* cf *athā* [63]

(vi) Abl sg ends in *-ā* (*-a* in S,M) everywhere
kapā G, *anubadhā* K, *mahatatā* MRE, *karana* S,M
(a) The final vowel is sometimes shortened in D, cf *anubadha*

(vii) Gen sg ends in *-sa* everywhere
janasa G,S,M,K,D,J,PE, *Asokasa* mk, *pakamasa* MRE
(a) Sometimes the final vowel is lengthened
janasā K, *asvasā* T,Mi (but *asvasa* Rdh, Mth, Rp)

(viii) Loc sg G gives the ending *-mhi* (< Sk *-smin* of pronouns) and *-e* In S,M, we get *-e*, and *spi* or *-si* (< Sk *-smin*) The ending *-si* is the normal one in other edicts

athamhi G, *orodhanaspi* S,M, *uthanasi* S,M, *aṭhasi* D,J, *janasi* PE, *Jaṁbudīpasi* MRE, *kōle* G, *dhrame* S,M
(a) Perhaps *-e* is found in *supiye* at bb

(ix) Nom pl Mas ends in *-ā* everywhere (but represented as *-a*, in S,M)
morā G, *putā* K,D J, *pulisā* PE, *devā* MRE, *putra* S,M
(a) The final *-ā* is sometimes shortened cf *nātikya* K, *lajūka* PE, *Anuvigina* d,j
(b) T twice gives the ending *-āse* (< Vedic *-āsah*) cf *viyāpaṭāse*

(x) Acc pl Masc The ending in G is *-e* but *-āni* in other edicts This *-āni* ending is regarded as the peculiarity of the Ardha Māgadhī dialect by LUDERS (*SPAW* 1913 992 ff)

yute G, *kamdhāni* D,J, *pulisāni* PE, *bambhanāni* yr
(a) *-āni* is noticed in G four times cf for instance *gharastāni*

(xi) Nom Acc pl neut ends in *-āni* everywhere
rūpāni G,S,M, *phalāni* K, *vasāni* D,J Mysore Gr
(a) Sometimes we get the ending *-ā*, cf *-darsanā* G, *lopāpitā* D,K, *hālāpitā* K, *lāti-satā* s,ru
(b) The final vowel is once lengthened in Mi cf *hamtaviyānī*
(c) Characteristically *-n-* > at Kpb cf *vasāni*, *aḍhatiyāni*

(xii) Inst pl ends in *-ehī* (< Vedic *-ebhih*)
satehi G,K, *jātehi* d,j, *devehi* MRE

(xiii) Dat. pl ends in *-ehi*
mahamatrehi M, *samanehi* D,J, *Ājivikehi* bb

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63 See Michelson, *JAOS* 31 240

(xiv) Gen pl : ends in *-nam* or *-na*

thairānaṁ G, *prananaṁ* S,M, *pānānaṁ* K,D,J

śramaṇana S,M, *-paśaḍāna* K

(a) Rarely we get *-nāṁ* or *-nā*

bhūtānāṁ G and *bambhanānā* K.

(xv) Loc pl ends in *-su* everywhere (*-ṣu* in S,M)

thairesu G, *vaṣeṣu* S,M, *vasesu* K,D,J, *aṭhesu* PE, *pavatesu* MRE, *prānesu* yr

(a) Rarely the final vowel is lengthened in G cf *pamthesū*

§ 54 Fem nouns ending in *-ā*

(i) Nom sg ends in *-ā* (represented as *-a* in S,M,) everywhere

ichā G,S,M,K,PE, *pajā* D,J, *porānā* Mysore Group, yr

(a) The final *-ā* is sometimes shortened in the East and Centre *icha* D,J, *-lokika* K, *-apekha* PE

(ii) Acc sg ends in *-ām* with the final anusvāra sometimes dropped

pūjām G,M, *pajam* PE, *pujā* S,K,G, *paṭipadā* Mi (?)

(iii) Inst sg ends in the East, Centre and the West in *-yā* and in the North and the North-West in *-ye*

pūjāyā G,PE, *isāya* D,J, *pujāye* S,M,K

(iv) Dat, Abl, Gen sg ends in *-ye*

vihisāye (Dat), *dakhināye* (Abl), *dutiyāye* (Gen) PE

(v) Loc. sg ending in the East, Centre, South, and the West is *-yam* but *-ye* in the North, North-West and the East

gananāyam G, *Samāpāyam* J, *Tisāyam* T,Mi, *velāyam* Kpb, *samtiranaye* S,M, *samtilanāye* K, *Tisāye* PE, *pājāye* D,J

(a) The final anusvāra in *-yam* is sometimes dropped

samtiranāya G, *samtilanāya* D J

(vi) Nom pl ends in *-ā* everywhere (*-a* S,M)

katā G, *vaḍikyā* PE, *upāsikā* bh, *cikisa* S,M

(a) Final *-ā* is once shortened in G cf *cikicha*

(b) G alone gives the additional ending *-āyo* (>*-āo* in Pkt cf PISCHEL G §376) cf *mahiḍāyo*

(vii) Loc pl ends in *-su* in PE cf *disāsu*

§ 55 Mas and Neut Nouns ending in *-i*

(i) Nom sg Mas ends in *-ī* in PE cf *vidhi*, *Sakyamunī*

(ii) Nom sg Neut. ends in *-i* in K cf *asamati*

(iii) Nom pl Mas ends in *-ī* in G and *-o* in S,M

trī G, *trayo* S,M (For long *ī* cf PISCHEL, *Gr* §380)

(iv) Nom Acc pl Neut ends in *-ni* everywhere

tiṁni K,D,J,PE, *osadhīni* K

(v) Gen pl ends in *-nam* everywhere, but the final anusvāra is sometimes dropped

nātinam G,S,M, *nātinam* K, *ñatina* S,M

(a) The loss of final anusvāra results in the lengthening of preceding vowel in K cf *nātinā*

(vi) Loc. pl . ends in -*su* in the East and the West and -*ṣu* in the North and the North-West.

ñātisu G , *nātisu* D,J , *nābhāpaṁtiṣu* M,K

§ 56 Fem. nouns ending in -ī

(i) Nom sg Normally ending -ī appears in the West (and the South) and -*i* elsewhere

lipī G , *pakitī* Mysore Gr (but *pakiti* yr), *lipi* K, *dipi* S,M, *vadhi* PE

(a) Exchange of these endings is met with exceptionally, *apaciti* G , *anusaktī* D,J , *gabhinī* PE

(ii) Acc sg ending -*iṁ* appears in G and PE and -*i* in K,D,J,S,M,PE and MRE

sambodhiṁ G , *lipiṁ* sn , *sabodhi* S,M, *sambodhi* K,D,J, *vaḍhi* T,ru

(a) As a result of the loss of final anusvāra the preceding vowel is lengthened in D,J, and PE

kitī D,J , -*anupaṭīpatī* T (HLZ's reading)

(b) Loss of anusvāra with short -*i* is an exception at G cf *kīti*, *chāti*, *vadhi*

(iii) Inst sg ending -*yā* is obtained in all versions and the final vowel is sometimes shortened in D,J and PE

bhatiyā G,S,M,K , *anusathiyā* D,J,PE, *anāvutiya* D,J, *vaḍhiyā* PE

(a) Ending -*ye* is sometimes found in K cf *anusathiye*

(b) Ending -*nā* is obtained only at yr cf *bherinā*

(iv) Dat Sg The Western, North-Western and Northern ending is -*yā* Ending -*ye* seems to be the Eastern one (its presence in S,M being perhaps due to the Eastern influence)

anusasṭiya G , *vaḍhiyā* S,M,K , *vaḍhiye* D,J , *dhātiye* T, *anuśastiye* S,M.

(v) Abl sg ends in -*yā* (represented as -*ye* in S,M)

nivutiyā K , *niphatiyā* D,J , *nivuṭiya* S,M

(vi) Gen sg ends in -*ye* in PE cf *devīye* Kq

(vii) Loc sg ending -*yaṁ* occurs in D,J,PE, -*ya* in S,M, and -*ye* in K,D,J,PE

puthaviyaṁ D,J , *Kosambiyaṁ* PE , *ayatiya* S,M , *āyatiye* K,D,J , *cātuṁmāsiye* PE

(viii) Nom pl ending -*yo* occurs in G,K, and -*ye* in bh , the forms in S,M,D,J end in -*ī*

aṭaviyo G , *jaṁiyo* K , *bhikhuniye* bh , *aṭavi*[64] S,M, *ithī* D,J

(ix) Gen pl ending -*naṁ* or -*nā*

bhaginīnaṁ D,J , *devinaṁ* T , *bhagininā* K

(x) Loc pl ends in -*su*

tīsu PE , *pavatisu*[65] ru

§ 57 Mas and Neut nouns ending in -*u*

(i) Nom sg Mas. ends in -*u* in all versions

sādhu Major RE, *bhikhu* Kb

(a) It is, however, sometimes lengthened

sādhū D,J, *bhikhū* sn

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64 With this form HULTZSCH compares Pāli nom pl *ratti* of *ratti*- (< Sk *rātri*-) p xci

65 For the fem base *pavatī* cf, BÖHTLINGK, *Worterbuch*, s v

(ii) Nom. Acc. Neut. sg. : ends in -*u* everywhere

bahu K,S,M,K,PE, *sādhu* D,J

(iii) Loc. sg. : The form *bahune* in T is perhaps from the base *bahuna-*

(iv) Nom. Acc pl Neut ends in -*ni* in all versions

bahūni Major RE, PE

(v) Inst pl ends in -*hi*, cf *bahūhi* Major RE

(vi) Gen pl ending -*nam* occurs in G,D,J,PE, -*na* in S,M, and -*nā* in K.

gurūnaṁ G, *gulūnam* D,J, *bhikhcnam* sc, *gcrunā* S,M, *gulunā* K

(vii) Loc pl. ends in -*su*

bahūsc d,j, *gclusc* PE, *garcsu* Mysore group, *garūsu* yr

§ 58. Fem nouns ending in -*u*

(i) The nom sg of *sādhu* used as fem is the same as that of Mas and Neut in all versions.

§ 59 Mas nouns ending in -*ṛ* The base for the oblique cases ends either in -*i* or -*u* In such cases the Western version preserves the Sk forms

(i) Nom sg ends in -*ā* in d and PE

pitā d , *apahaṭā* T

(a) It is sometimes shortened to -*a*, cf *pita* j and *apahata* Rdh

(ii) Inst sg ends in -*ā* in the West , but -*nā* (cf -*i* and -*u* declension) in other regions

pitā, bhātā or *bhātrā* G , *pituna* S,M, *pitinā* K,D,J

(iii) Loc sg . ends in -*i* at G cf *pitari*

(iv) Nom pl ends in -*o* in S, -*e* in M,K, and -*ī* in D,J (cf -*i* declension)

nataro S , *natare* M , *matāle* K , *natī* D,J

(v) Gen pl ends in -*nam* in K,D,J and -*na* in S,M

bhātīnam K,D,J, *bhratuna* S,M

(vi) Loc pl ends in -*su* in all groups, but -*ṣu* in S,M (and K)

pitisu D,J,K,PE,br, *pitūsu* yr, jtr , *pituṣu* S,M, *pitiṣu* K

§ 60 Fem nouns ending in -*ṛ*

(i) Gen (dat) sg ends in -*u* at Kq cf -*mātu*

(ii) Loc sg ends in -*i* at G cf *mātari*

(iii) Gen pl ends in -*na* in S,M cf *spasuna*

§ 61 Bases ending in consonants As in other Prakrits, such bases in these inscriptions are brought over to the -*a* declension Yet in some forms the Sk consonantal declension survives with the necessary phonetic changes

§ 62 Present Participles ending in -*at*

(i) Nom sg. Mas ends in -*um* or -*u* and -*o* in G , in the East the ending is -*aṁ*[66] or -*e* of which the former is seen in other non-Western regions

karuṁ, karu and *karoto* G , *saṁtam* S,M,K,D,J,PE, *kalamtaṁ* mk ,

mahaṁte D,J (following the -*a* declension)

(ii) Gen sg ends in -*sa* in M cf *aśatasa*

(iii) Nom pl. Masc ends in -*o* in G , and -*a* (for -*ā* or -*e*) in s.

tisṭaṁto G , *saṁta* s.

§ 63. Other bases ending in -*at* ·

66. Ending -*aṁ* < Sk. -*an* See HULTZSCH, p. lxxvii.

(i) Nom sg ends in *-a* at K,S,M and Mth, in *-aṁ* in other PE, and in *-e* at sn

pajāva K, *prajava* S,M, *kiya* Mth, *kiyam* other PE, *bhagavam* rm; *āvate* sn

(ii) Inst sg ends in *-ā* cf *bhagavatā* bh, *hetuvatā* K

§ 64 Mas. nouns ending in *-an*

(i) Nom sg · ends in *-ā* as in Sk

rājā G,S,M, *lājā* K,D,J,PE, MRE

(a) It is optionally shortened in all versions and exceptionally at G

Yona-rāja G, *lāja* K,D,J,PE, MRE

(ii) Acc sg ends in *-am* cf *atānam* d,j

(iii) Inst sg ends in *-ā* in all versions

rāñā G,S; *rajina* M, *lājinā* K,D,J,MRE, *atanā* PE(T,Ksb) *mahatpanā* sd, yr

(a) Final *-ā* is shortened in Rdh, Mth, Rp cf *atana* It is shortened in Mysore group Also cf *mahātpena* (But this seems to be due to transference to the *-a* declension, the base then being *mahātpa* < Sk *mahātman*

(iv) Gen sg Western ending is *-o* and Eastern *-e*

rāño G,S, *lājine* K,D,J, *rajine* M

(v) Nom. pl Western ending is *-o* and Eastern *-e*

rājāno G,S, *lājāne* K,D,J,PE

(a) *-o* is found occasionally at K, cf *lājāno*

(b) The final vowel is changed to *-i* in S, cf *rajani*

(c) It follows *-a* declension only in Mysore group and ends in *-ā* cf *mahātpā* br, sd (cf the above note on *mahātpena*)

(vi) Inst. pl ends in *-hi* cf *lājihi* PE

§ 65 Neut nouns ending in *-an*

(i) Nom sg ending in the North and N-West is *-am* but *-e* in the East.

kramam S,M, *kammam* K, *kamme* D,J,K

(ii) Acc sg Eastern ending is *-am* which is presented with the loss of anusvāra in some of the versions

kammam D,J, *nāma* Major RE and PE

(a) The final *-a* is sometimes lengthened in K cf *nāmā*

(iii) Inst. sg ends in *-na* cf *kamana* d,j

(iv) Dat sg North and N-West give *-ye*, and East gives *-ne* (cerebralised to *-ṇe* in M according to HULTZSCH's reading)

krammaye S, *kammāye* K, *kammane* D,J, *kramane* M

(v) Gen sg ends in *-sa* cf *kammasa* d,j

(vi) Acc pl ends in *-āni* cf *kammāni* PE

§ 66 Mas nouns ending in *-as*

(i) Nom. pl . ends in *-ā* (cf *-a* declen) *avimanā* PE

§ 67 Neut nouns ending in *-as*

(i) Acc sg ending *-o* occurs in the West and East alike, but *-e* occurs only in the non-Western area

yaso G,K,D,J, *yaśo* S,M, *bhuye* S,M,K,PE, *daviye* d.

(a) Ending *-a* is noted in G, cf *bhuya*

§68. Mas nouns ending in *-in*

(i) Nom sg ends in *ī* (short in the West and long in the East).

Piyadasi G,K,J,T,MiRdh,Mth,Rp, bh, *Priyadraśi* S,M, *Piyadasī* K,D,J, Ksb, bh

(ii) Inst. sg ends in *-ā* in all versions except those in the N-East where the term is *-a*

Priyadasinā G, *-draśina* S,M, *Piyadasinā* K,D,J,bb, *amtevāsinā* Mysore Gr, but *Piyadasina* rm, ng

(iii) Dat sg (?) *-e* cf *Piyadaṣine* K, *-dasine* D,J, *-daśine* M.

(a) Once *-a* appears at the end cf *-draśina* M

(iv) Gen sg *-no* is found in the West and *-ne* in other regions The ending *-sā* (cf *-a* declen.) is found only in the North and North-West

Priyadasino G, *Piyadasine* K,D,J, *Priyadraśine* M But *Priyadraśisa* S, *Piyadasisā* K

(a) Ending *-na* is obtained at yr cf *yathācārina*

(v) Acc pl ending *-ni* (cf neut decl) is found in the East, South, and the North In the N West we get *-na* or *-ne*

hathīni K,D,J, *atevāsina* yr, *astina* S, *astine* M

(vi) Loc pl ending *-su*, cf *amtevāsīsu* yr

§ 69 Neut nouns ending in *-in*

(i) Nom pl ends in *-ni*, cf *-gāmini* PE

§ 70 Fem noun *dis*

(i) Acc sg ends in *-ā* cf *diṣā* (for *diṣām*) K.

§ 71 Fem base ending in *-ad* (*pariṣad-*)

(i) Nom sg ends in *-ā* *palisā* K,D,J, *parisā* G, *pariṣa* M, *pari*[*ṣ**] S

(ii) Loc sg *-yam* in the East and West and *-ye* in the North and N-West. *palisāyam* J, *parisāyam* G, *pariṣaye* S,M, *palisāye* K

(a) The loss of final anusvāra results in the lengthening of the preceding vowel cf *parisāyā* D

(B) PRONOUNS

§ 72 The declined forms of Pronouns mostly correspond to the Sk forms with the necessary phonetic changes The base *apha-* for the 1st pers pron and *tupha-* for the 2nd pers pron are peculiar to these inscriptions. The grammatical distinction in the different genders is sometimes obscured so that the same forms are used for two or three genders As will be seen the initial *y-* of the relative pronoun is dropped in the Eastern dialect, but it is never turned to *j-* as in later Prakrits.

§ 73 First Personal Pronoun Important forms are *hakam* in nom sg, *maye* in nom pl, base *mama-* in instr and abl sg, and *apha-* in pl forms The initial *h-* in some of the forms is equally noteworthy

(i) Nom sg G,S,M give the Sk form *aham* (M gives also *aaṁ*) Other versions in all regions give *hakam* (< **ahakam*) [67]

(ii) Acc sg *mam* occurs in PE

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67. PISCHEL, *Gr* § 417

(iii) Ins. sg

1 *maā* G,S,M,br, and yr

2 *mahayā*[68] K,D,J,T,b

3 *me* K,D,Rdh, Mth, kpb, yr

(a) 4 *mamiyā* occurs once in T

(b) 5 *mamāye* occurs in d

(c) 6 *mamiyāye* occurs in j, and

7 *hamiyāye* occurs in bh

(iv) Abl sg *mamate* d, j

(v) Gen sg

1 *mama* G,K,D,J,PE

2 *maa*[69] S,M

3 *me* Major RE, PE, MRE (*mai* to be read as *me* in br)

(a) anusvāra is added at the end and once we get *mamam* j

(b) Final *-a* is lengthened cf *mamā* K,D,T,Mi

(c) *hamā*[70] is given by bh

(vi) Nom. pl *maye* d, j, (< Sk *vayam* under the influence of *mayā* cf HULTZSCH p cvi)

(vii) Acc pl *aphe* d, *aphem* j (cf the Sk base *asma-* in *asmán*)

(viii) Gen. pl 1 *ne* K,d,j 2 *aphākā* d

(ix) Loc pl *aphesū* d,j

§ 74 Second Personal Pronoun The base is *tupha-*[71] (< **tuṣma-*).

(i) Nom pl *tuphe* d, j, sn, pr, *pre* j

(ii) Acc. pl *tuphem* j

(iii) Inst pl *phehi* d, j

(iv) Dat. pl *ve* (< Sk *vaḥ*) mk (used for nom pl)

(v) Gen pl *tuphāka* d, j, *tuphākam* sn, *tupaka* ru

(vi) Loc pl *tuphesu* d, j

§ 75 Third Person Pron Mas Base *ta-* (or *-sa* in nom)

(i) Nom sg *so* G,S, *se* K,M,D,J,PE and MRE

(a) G once gives the form *sā*

(b) Similarly S gives the form *sa*

(c) The forms *ṣe* and *śe* at K are only graphical

(d) d and j give *te*

(ii) Acc sg *so* G, but *tam* K, S, M

(iii) Inst sg ends in *-na* cf *tena* Major RE and PE

(a) Final *-a* is optionally lengthened at K, cf *tenā*

(iv) Dat sg. ends in *-ya* in the West and *-ye* elsewhere

tāya G, *tāye* S,M,K

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68 The form *mamae* is given by Hemacandra, III 109

69 *maa* = Pkt. *maha*, Sk *mama* under the influence of dat sg *mahyam*, see MICHELSON *JAOS* 30 85. x. 2.

70. This seems to be a compromise between *mamā* and **ham* < *aham*. See HULTZSCH, p cxxvii

71. This again is a compromise between the Sk. base *yuṣma-* and nom sg *tvam* See HULTZSCH, p cvi.

(v) Abl sg *taphā*[72] and *tā* K

(vi) Gen. sg ends in *-sa* cf *tasa* Major RE

(a) With *-ā* at the end in K cf *tasā*

(b) Forms *taśa* and *taā* at K are graphical

(vii) Loc sg Western ending is *-mhi* and elsewhere *-si*
tamhi G, *tasi* S,M,D,J

(a) Form *taśi* at K is graphical

(viii) Nom pl *te* Major and Minor RE, PE
se D and Mysore Gr

(ix) Inst pl ends in *-hi*, cf *tehi* K

(x) Dat pl ends in *-hi*, cf *tehi* G,K,M

(xi) Gen pl *-sam* G,J,Rdh,Mth, Rp cf *tesam*
-ṣam S, K cf *teṣam*
-ṣaṁ S, K, cf *tānam* (cf nominal declension)

(a) Final anusvāra omitted cf *tesa* G,d, *teṣa* S,M

(xii) Loc pl *-su* *tesu* PE

§ 76 Third Pers Pron —Feminine Base *tā-* (or *sā-* in nom)

(i) Nom sg *-ā* *sā* G,K, *sa* S,M

(a) K graphically gives *ṣā*

(ii) Acc sg *-am* *tam* PE

(iii) Dat sg *-ye* *tāye* PE

(iv) Acc pl *-a* (i e *-ā*) *ta* (for *tā*) S,M

§ 77 Third Pers Pron —Neut Base *ta-* (or *sa-*)

(i) Nom Acc sg *ta* G,K, *tam* S,D,J,PE (only Acc), MIRE (only Acc), *se* K,M,D,J,PE, MRE (also Mysore Gr)

(a) *se* is exceptionally found in G

(b) *ṣe* is graphical at K, it is also found at Kq

(c) *so* and *sa* also occur at S

(ii) Nom Acc pl *-ni* cf *tāni* d PE

(a) Forms *ṣa* in S and *se* in M are perhaps mas

§ 78 Pronominal base *na-* (cf Hemacandra III 70-77)

(i) Acc pl Masc *ne* G

(ii) Acc pl Neut *nāni* G, PE

§ 79 Demonstrative *etad* Mas The base is either *eta-* (and *esa-* in nom) or *etaka-*

(i) Nom sg
esā G,D,PE (with *esā* cf *sā* and *Magā*)
ese K
eṣe K,S,M, *esa* K,M

(ii) Inst sg *-na* *etakena* S,M,D,J, *etena* PE

(a) Final *-a* is lengthened at K, cf *etakenā*

(iii) Dat sg *-ya* in the Western and Southern and *-ye* in other regions
etāya, *etakāya* G, (K),yr, *etāye*, S,M,K,D,J,PE, *etakāye* S,M,K(?),D

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72. *taphā* < **tamhā* < Sk. *tasmāt*, cf BÜHLER, *ZDMG* 37, 592

(iv) Gen sg. The base becomes *eti-*[73] *etiṣā* K (note the final *-ā*), *etisa* S,M; but *etasa* M,D,J

(v) Loc sg *-mhi* in the West and *-si* in the East. *etamhi* G, *etasi* d,j

(vi) Nom pl *ete* G,d,PE, *eta* S,M.

(vii) Loc pl · *-su* cf *etesu* PE.

§ 80 Demonstrative *etad* Fem (base *esā-* or *etakā-*)

(i) Nom sg *-ā* *esā* G,RE, Mysore Gr *eṣa* K,S,M, *etā(ta)kā* j, *hesā* yr

§ 81 Demonstrative *etad* Neuter (The base is *eta-* or *esa-*)

(i) Nom sg

1 *-a* or *-aṁ* cf *eta* or *-aṁ* G,S,M, *esa* (or *esā*) G,D,J,PE,MRE (cf Hem 3 85)

2 *-e* cf *ese* or *eṣe* K,S,M,b, *etake* S

(ii) Acc sg *-a* or *-aṁ*, cf *eta* G, *etaṁ* D,J,PE

(iii) Inst s. *-na, -nā* and *-ni*, cf *etena* S, *etinā* ru, and *eteni* (for *-nā*) bh

(iv) Dat sg *-ya* *etiya* ru (note the base *eti-*), *etāya* br sd

(v) Nom Acc pl *-ni* *etāni* K,S,M,J,PE

§ 82 Demonstrative *idaṁ*,—Mas

(i) Nom sg *ayaṁ* G,K,S,M,D,J *iyaṁ* K D,J MRE

(a) In the North West we get also *ayi* S,M

(b) Loss of anusvāra is found in ru and mk, cf *iya*

(ii) Acc sg *ima* or *imaṁ* MRE

(iii) Inst sg *iminā* G,br,sd,yr, *imena* J

(iv) Dat sg *imāye* D,ru

(v) Gen sg *imasa* G,M,D, *imasā* K, *imisa* S (note the base *imi-*)

(vi) Loc sg *imamhi* G

(vii) Nom pl *ime* G,K,D,M,T,br,sd,jtr

(viii) Inst pl *imehi* D,J

§ 83 Demonstrative *idaṁ*,—Feminine

(i) Nom sg *ayaṁ* G, *iyaṁ* G,K,M,Rdh, bb

(a) *aya* and *ayi* also occur at S(M)

(ii) Acc sg *imaṁ* PE

(iii) Dat sg *imāya* G,K, *imāye* D,M, *imisa* S (an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā* cf HULTZSCH, p xciii)

(iv) Loc sg *imāyaṁ* Kpb

§ 84 Demonstrative *idaṁ*,—Neut

(i) Nom sg *idaṁ* G,S,M, *ayaṁ* G, *iyaṁ* K,S,M,D,J,PE, MRE

(a) Final anusvāra is dropped, cf *iya* Mysore Gr, M, *ida* G,S

(b) The N-Western dialect also furnishes the forms *imaṁ, ima* and *iyo*

(ii) Acc sg *idaṁ* G, *imaṁ* K,S,M,D,J,MRE

(iii) Nom pl *imāni* PE

§ 85 Relative *yad-*, Masculine In the forms of all genders of this pronoun the loss of initial *y-* appears as an Eastern characteristic with its influence over other regions It never occurs in the West

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73 This base is perhaps due to analogy with Pāli *kissa* *kassa* cf HULTZSCH, p xciii.

(i) Nom. sg -*o* in the West and N-West, -*e* elsewhere
yo G,S,(M), *ye* K,M,D,J,PE
(a) initial *y*- is dropped and we get *e* K,D,J,PE,MRE
(ii) Inst sg -*na* cf *yena* K,S,M,PE
(a) *ena* is given by T,d,j
(iii) Gen sg. -*sa* *yasa* G,S,M
(a) With the loss of initial *y*, *asa* D,J and with the lengthening of final -*a*, *asā* K
(iv) Nom pl *ye* G,K,S,M,D,J,PE
(a) The form *yā* is given by ru
(b) The loss of initial *y*- results in the form *e* K,M,D,J,jtr
(v) Gen pl -*saṁ* or -*ṣam*, *yesam* G, *yeṣam* K, M, *yesa* S
(vi) Loc pl -*śu*, -*su*, or -*ṣu* cf *yeśu* K, *yesu* S, *yeṣu* M

§ 86 Relative *yad*,—Feminine
(i) Nom sg -*ā* *yā* D,T, *ya* S,M
(a) Loss of *y*- cf *ā* d,j
(ii) Nom pl -*ā* *yā* G, *ya* S,M

§ 87 Relative *yad*-,—Neuter
(i) Nom sg *ya* G,yr, *yam* S,M,yr, *ye* K,M,PE
(a) Loss of *y*- *e* K,D,J,PE,MRE
(b) kālsi dialect also gives the forms -*a* and -*am*
(ii) Acc sg *yam* or *ya* G,K,S,M,MRE
(a) *am* K,D,J,s
(b) *e* M,K
(c) The Mas form *yo* is given by the N-Western dialect
(iii) Nom pl *yāni* G, PE
(a) *āni* D,J

§ 88 Interrogative Pronoun,—Masculine
(i) Nom sg -*o* in the West and -*e* in other regions
ko-ci G, *ke-cā* D,J, *ke-cha* K, *ke-chi* M
(a) Ending -*a* is found in *ka-ci* at S
(ii) Inst sg *kena-pi* in sn, **kinā* in *kinasu* T (cf *kinā* Hemacandra, III, 69, PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 428 and HULTZSCH, p cxix)
(iii) Abl sg *a-kasmā* d j
(iv) Acc. pl -*āni* cf *kāni* PE

§ 89 Interrogative Pronoun,—neuter As in Mas most of the forms occur with the particle -*cit*
(i) Nom, Acc sg *ki*- or *kim*- G,K S,M,D,J,PE,MRE
(a) In G *kam* occurs as an indefinite, the form occurs in D,J, also
(b) *ke-ci* for *kiṁci* is given by bh
(c) PE give forms as *kimam* and *kiṁmam* in the Acc
(ii) Nom, Acc pl *kāni* K,D,J,PE

§ 90 Pronominal base *anya*-, Masculine
(i) Nom sg ending -*e* appears even in G under the Eastern influence
aṁñe G, *añe* S,M, *aṁne* K,D,J,PE
(a) The final -*e* > -*i* in the N-Western dialect, cf *amñi* S.

(ii) Dat. sg -*ya* in the West and -*ye* elsewhere.
aññāya G , *añaye* S,M , *aṁnāye* K,D,J

(iii) Gen. sg .. -*sa* -*aṁñasa* G , -*añasa* S,M
(a) Final -*a* > *ā* in K, cf -*anaṣā* (-*ṣ*- being graphical)

(iv) Loc sg -*mhi*, cf *añamhi* G

(v) Nom pl -*e* in all versions
aṁñe or *añe* G,S,M , *aṁne* K,D,PE

(vi) Gen pl -*naṁ*, cf *aṁnānaṁ* T

(vii) Loc pl -*su*, cf *aṁnesu* D,T

§ 91 Pronominal base *anya*- Neuter

(i) Nom sg -*a* or -*aṁ* occurs in the West and N-West and -*e* in other regions.
aña G, *añaṁ* S , *aṁne* K,D,J,Kq , *añe* M
(a) -*e* occurs in G cf *añe*
(b) -*a* occurs in T, cf *ana*

(ii) Nom , Acc pl -*ni* in all versions
aññāni G,S,M , *aṁnāni* K,D,J,PE

§ 92. Pronominal base *sarva*-, Masculine

(i) Nom sg -*e*, *save* PE

(ii) Acc sg -*aṁ*, *savaṁ* K,D J,S,M (*savraṁ*)

(iii) Inst sg -*na*, *savena* d,j
(a) The dental is cerebralised, cf *savenā* j

(iv) Gen sg -*sa*, *savasa* d,j

(v) Loc sg -*e* in the West and -*si* in the North *save* G , *savasi* T

(vi) Nom pl -*e* in all versions cf *save* Major RE

(vii) Loc pl -*su* in all versions, but -*ṣu* in the North and North-West
savesu G,D,J,K,T,sn , *saveṣu* S,M

§ 93 Pron base *sarva*-, Feminine

(i) Nom sg -*ā*, *savā* K

§ 94 Pron base *sarva*,—Neuter

(i) Nom sg -*aṁ* in the West and N-West and -*e* elsewhere
sarvaṁ G *savraṁ* S M , *save* K,D,J, *sarve* b
(a) -*a* occurs at K and yr in *sava*
(b) -*e* occurs at S,M cf *savre*

(ii) Acc sg -*aṁ* everywhere, cf *savaṁ* G K,S,D

§ 95 Pron base *ekatara*-

(i) Loc sg ending -*mhi* in the West, -*e*[74] in the N-West and -*si* in the North
ekataramhi G , *ekatare* S[1], *ekatalaṣi* (i e *si*) K

§ 96 Pron base **ekatya*-[75]

(i) Nom pl Mas -*ā*, *ekacā* G , *ekatiyā* K,D,J,M , *ekatia* S

§ 97 Pron base *itara*-

(i) Nom sg Neut -*e*, *itale* K , *itare* M

§ 98 Pron base *ubhaya*-

(i) Gen pl -*saṁ*, *ubhayesaṁ* K,M
(a) Final anusvāra is dropped in S cf *ubhayesa*

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74 This is the reading of HULTZSCH , others read *ekataraspi*

75 For Pāli *ekaca*- cf GEIGER, *Pāli*, § 113,

II NUMERALS

(A) CARDINALS

§ 99 ONE Mas. and Neut. base *eka-*
(i) Nom. sg Mas. *-o* in the West and *-e* elsewhere.
eko G, *eke* M,K,D,J,sn (*ikike*)
(ii) Acc. sg Neut *-am*, *ekaṁ* S,M,yr
(iii) Inst. sg . *-na*, *ekena* d,j
§ 100 One Fem base *ikā-* (for *ekā-*)
(i) Nom sg *-ā*, *ikā* sn
(ii) Acc sg. *-am*, *ikam* sn
§101 Two Mas. and Neut *dva-* or *duva*
(i) Nom Masc, *-o* in the West and *-e* elsewhere
dvo G, *duve* S,M,K,D,J
(a) The final *-e* > *-i* at S, cf *duvi*
(ii) Nom Neut *-e*, *duve* s
(iii) Inst *-hi*, *duvehi* PE
§ 102 Two Fem base *dva-* or *duva-*
(i) Nom *-e* in G and *-i* in S *dve* G, *duvi* S
§ 103 THREE Mas and Neut base *ti-* or *tri-* (*traya-*)
(i) Nom Mas *-ī* at G and *O* at S *tī* or *trī* G, *trayo* S
(ii) Nom Acc Neut. *-ni*, *tini* K,M, and *tinni* K,D,J,P7 (= Pkt. *tinni*).
§ 104 THREE Fem base *ti-*
(i) Loc *-su*, *tisu* PE
§ 105 FOUR Mas and Neut. forms are taken from Sk
(i) Nom Mas *-o*, *catpāro* G
(ii) Acc Masc *-e cature* S,M
(iii) Nom Neut. *-i*, *catāli* K (this form is used for Mas)
§ 106 FIVE *paṁca-*
(i) Loc *-su*, *paṁcasu* G,K,D,J, *-ṣu* S,M
§ 107 SIX *ṣa-*
(i) Loc *-ṣu*, *ṣaṣu* S,M,K
§ 108 EIGHT *aṭha* S,M,K
§ 109 TEN *dasa* G,K,D,J, *daśa* S,M
§ 110 TWELVE *dbādasa* G, *badaya(śa)s*[76], *duvādasa* K,T,Rdh,Rp,bb, *duvādasa* D,J, *duvadaśa* and *duvaḍaśa* M, *duvāḷasa* Mth
§ 111 THIRTEEN *traidasa* G, *tedasa* K,D,J, *treḍasa* M; *todaśa* S[77]
§ 112 FOURTEEN *codasa* ng
§ 113. NINETEEN *ekunavīsati* bb
§ 114 TWENTY *vīsati* rm, ng
§ 115 TWENTY-FIVE *paṁnavīsati* PE
§ 116 TWENTY-SIX *saḍuvīsati* PE
§ 117. TWENTY-SEVEN *satavisati* T
§ 118. FIFTY-SIX *sapaṁnā* s.

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76 The Niya form is *badaśa*, see BURROW § 89
77. The Niya form is *trodasa*, see BURROW § 89.

§ 119 HUNDRED base *sata-*

(i) Nom pl. Masc . *-ā, satā* MRE.

(ii) Acc pl. Neut. · *-ṃ, satāṃ* or *śataṃ* Major RE

(iii) Inst pl *-hi, satehi* or *śatehi* Major RE

(iv) Loc. pl *-ṣu, ṣateṣu* K, *śateṣu* S, *sateṣu* M

§ 120 THOUSAND base *sahasa-*

(i) Loc pl *-su, sahasesu* J, *sahasesuṃ*[78] d (as read by HULTZSCH ; others read *-su*).

§ 121 HUNDRED-THOUSAND base *sata-sahasa-*

(i) Nom sg *-e, śata-sahasre* S,M , *ṣata-ṣahase* K

(ii) Nom pl *-ṃ, sata-sahasrāṃ* G , *-sahasaṃ* S, *-sahasraṃ* M, *-sahasāṃ* K,D,J

(iii) Loc pl *-su, sata-sahasesu* PE

(B) ORDINALS

§ 122 FOURTEENTH *cāvudasā* PE

§ 123 FIFTEENTH *paṃnaḍasā* PE , *paṃcadasā* Ksb *paṃnaḷasā* Rdh, Mth

§ 124 HUNDREDTH *śata-* S,M , *ṣata-* K

§ 125 THOUSANDTH *sahasra-* S, M , *ṣahaṣa-* K

III CONJUGATION

§ 126 As in declension, the conjugational system of the inscriptions is much simplified Thus the dual number is altogether lost and the middle voice lingers on only in the West Yet as the forms given below will bear out, in comparison with later Prakrits, the conjugational system of the Aśokan inscriptions still bears an archaic nature The ten classes of verbs found in the old system are mostly reduced to the *-a* class, and in some measure to the *-aya* class The full forms in Sanskrit with the necessary phonetic changes are also inherited in some cases

§ 127 PRESENT INDICATIVE,—Active

(i) 1st pers sg *-mi* in all versions

karomi G , *karemi* S,M , *palakamāmi* D,J , *vidahāmi* PE

ichāmi MRE , *sumi* MRE

(a) *-mi* in *palakamāmi* at K is a mistake

(ii) 3rd pers sg *-ti* in all versions

ichati S,M,K,D,J , *dekhati* PE , *pasati* G , *hoti* Mysore Gr , *athi* ru, s , *ānapayati* yr

(iii) 1st pers pl *ma, susuma* yr

(iv) 3rd pers pl *-aṃti* in all versions except G

-ati (with loss of anusvāra) G and all other versions

ichati, prāpunati G , *ichaṃti* S,M,K,D,J , *laghaṃti* PE

vasati K , *vasati* S,M , *kaleti* D,J

§ 128 PRESENT INDICATIVE,—Middle

(i) 3rd sg *-te* occurs only in the West , other regions give active *-ti*

karote G , but *kaleti* K,D,J, *karoti* S,M

(a) *-ti* occurs in G cf *karoti*

(b) *-te* occurs in D cf *maṃnate*

78 For the use of *-(e)suṃ* in literary Prakrits HULTZSCH compares PISCHEL, *Gr.* § 371.

(ii) 3rd pl..

1 *-te* in G alone. cf *karomte*

2 *-re*[79] in G, *anuvatare*, but *anuvatamti* K, *anuvatamti* S.

§ 129 PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE,—Active

(i) Ist sg. *-mi* in all versions The term is of indicative *sukhāpayāmi* G, *sukhāyāmi* K,S,M,D,J, *sāvāpayāmi* PE

(a) Final *-i* > *ī*, cf *āvahāmī* Rdh

(ii) 3rd sg

1 *-ā* (< *-āt*?) G, *mamñā*[80]

2 *-tu* K The term is of imperative, *susuṣātu*

3 *-ti* sn The term is of indicative, *huvāti*

(iii) 1st pl *-ma* at M *dipayama*

(iv) 2nd pl *-thā*, *nikhipātha* and *vivāsāpayāthā* sn, *likhāpayāthā* s

(v) 3rd pl

1 *-tu* at K, *palakamātu*

2 *-vū* at D, J The term is of optative cf *nikhamāvū*

§ 130 SUBJUNCTIVE Middle

(i) 3rd pl *-te* only at M *parakramate* (HULTZSCH'S reading)

§ 131 OPTATIVE Active

(i) 1st sg *-eyam* in the West and the N West and *-eham* elsewhere *gacheyam* G, *vraceyam* S, *yeham* K,K,D,J *abhyumnāmayeham* T

(ii) 3rd sg

1 *va*, *asa* G (= Pāli *assa* for **asyāt*)[81]

2 *-e*, *bhave* G, *ugacha(che)* d

3 *-eyā*[82], in all versions *tiṣṭeya* G, *nivaṭeyā* K, *dakheyā* d,j, *anupaṭipajeyā* T, *adhigacheyā* mk

4 *-yā*, *siyā* S,M,D,J,PE, MRE

5 *-ti*, (indicative term) in North and N-West *siyāti* K,S,M

6 *-vā*, *pāpovā* PE

(iii) 1st pl *-ema*, *dipayema* G,K, *gachema* d,j

(iv) 3rd pl

1 *-u* G,K,S,M, cf *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for **asyuh*)[83]

2 *-eyā* in all versions, *vaseyu* S,M,G, *huveyu* K, *caleyū* j, *pakameyu* br, sd, *suneyu* bb

3 *-evū*, in non-Western regions, *vasevu* K, *calevū* d, *pavatayevū* and *upadahevū* PE, *jānevu* yr

4 *-vu*, *yāvu* sn

§ 132 OPTATIVE,—Middle

(i) 3rd sg *-tha*[84] only in G, *paṭipajetha*, other versions give active forms like *paṭipajeyā* S,M,K,D,J

79 For the use of *-re* in Vedic Sk, Pkt, and Pāli cf PISCHEL § 458

80. With this form HULTZSCH compares such Vedic forms as *paśyāt*, see p lxvii

81 HULTZSCH, p lxvii

82 For parallels to this contracted term, cf HULTZSCH, p lxxxii

83 HULTZSCH, p lxvii

84 For this term. cf. GEIGER, *Pāli*, §129

(ii) 3rd pl (desiderative) *-era* only in G, *susumsera*, other versions have *susuṣeyu* K, *suśruṣeyu* S,M

§ 133 IMPERATIVE,—Active

(i) 3rd sg *-tu, hotu* K,D,J,PE,MRE, *bhotu* S,M

(ii) 2nd pl *-tha* in all versions (indicative ending)

paṭivedetha G, *dekhatha* d,j, *likhāpayatha* s, *nivesayātha* yr

(a) *-ta* is obtained in *lekhāpeta* ru

(iii) 3rd pl *-amtu, yujamtu* Major RE, *anupaṭipajamtu* PE *jānamtu* Kpb

(a) The anusvāra is dropped in *niyātu* G, *manatu* K, *mañatu* S

(b) *ru* (due to the influence of middle ending) occurs only at G, cf *srunāru*

§ 134. IMPERATIVE,—Middle

(i) 3rd sg passive *-tām* only in G *anuvidhiyatām*, S,M,K give active, *anuvidhiyatu*

desider *-tā* only in G, *susrusatā*, but active forms such as *susuṣātu* (K), *susūsatu* (DJ) are found in other versions

(ii) 3rd pl *-ram* in G, *anuvataram*, but active *anuvatamtu* K, *-vatatu* S,D

§ 135 IMPERFECT,—Active

(i) 3rd sg form of *bhū* is *aho* (< **abhot*[84 ?]) everywhere

§ 136 AORIST,—Active

(i) 1st sg *-sam, husam* Mysore gr *-sa, husa* yr

(ii) 3rd sg *-mi, nikrami* S,M, *nikhami* D

(iii) 3rd pl *-su, ñayāsu*[86] G, *nikhamisu* K,D J, *abhuvasu*[87] S,M, *husu* PE,MRE

(a) *-msu, ahumsu*[88] G

(b) *-ṣu, nikramiṣu* S,M, *maniṣu* K

§137 AORIST,—Subjunctive

(i) 3rd pl *-ṣu, mañiṣu* S,M *-sū, alocayisū* D,J,M,K

§ 138 AORIST,—Middle

(i) 3rd sg *-thā,*[89] *nikhamithā* K, *huthā* and *vadhithā* T The middle forms occur in K and T only exceptionally Active forms are employed elsewhere Cf *nikrami* S,M, *nikhami* D

(a) The ending is cerebralised in *nikhamiṭhā* So

§ 139 PERFECT,—Active

(i) 3rd sg of 'to speak' The forms are *āhā* in all versions

(a) Forms *ahati* and *hahati* occur in S

§ 140 FUTURE,—Active The occasional change of *-s-* > *-h-* in the plural term is noteworthy

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85 HULTZSCH, p lxviii

86 This equals Sk **nyayāsuh*, HULTZSCH, p lxviii

87 The term *-su* affixed to Sk Aorist form *abhūvan*, cf JOHANSSON, *Dialect der Shāh Redaction*, § 30

88 This is based on 3rd sg *ahu-i* = Sk *abhūt*, HULTZSCH, p lxviii

89 For Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī term, *-itthā*, see MÜLLER, *Pāli Gr* p 115 and PISCHEL, *Gr* § 517

(i) 1st sg

1 *-saṁ* or *-ṣaṁ*, in the West, N-West and PE *likhāpayisaṁ* G ; *palibhasayisam* PE, *kaṣam* S.

2 *-śāmi*, *-sāmi* in the East and N-West *lekhāpeśāmi* K,S,M, *hosāmi* D,J

(a) M once gives *-ṣami* cf *kaṣami*

(b) K once gives *kachāmi*

(ii) 3rd sg *-sati*, *-śati* or *-ṣati* almost in all versions.
āñpayisati G, *khamisati* D,J, *vaḍhiśati* S , *vaḍhisati* PE,s,b , *ānapayisati* yr , *kaṣati* S,M

(a) The vowel *-a* in *-sati* becomes *-i-* due to *-y-* (in *-syati*) especially in the South *vaḍhisiti* br,sd,jtr,mk,Kpb,ru , *vaḍhasitā* for *-siti* (?) yr

(b) The following inherited forms may be noted *kachati* K,D,J,PE, *bhākhati* (and *caghati*) PE

(iii) 2nd pl *-sathā* and *-hatha*, *esatha* j = *ehatha* d *ālādhayisathā* d,j

(iv) 3rd pl *-samti*, *-śamti* or *-ṣamti*
anusāsisamti, G,K, *nikhamisamti* D,J , *anapeśamti* and *kaṣamti* S, *vaḍhisamti* PE

(a) Note the forms *kachamti* K,D,J,PE , *chaghamti* PE

(b) *-s-* > *-h-* in the ending *-hamti*, *dāhamti* PE , *hohamti* T

§ 141 FUTURE,—Middle

(i) 3rd pl *-sa-re* only in G, *anuvatisare* , other versions give active *anuvatisamti* D,K (*-vaṭi-*), *-śamti* S,M

§ 142 PASSIVE,—Indicative

(i) 3rd sg *-ti* in non-Western area
pasavati K,S,M (*pra-*), *khādiyati* PE

(ii) 3rd pl *-re* only in the West, *ārabhare* G , but *-amti* in the rest, *anuvidhīyamti* K,PE, *ālabhiyamti* M,D,J

§ 143 PASSIVE,—Imperative

(i) 3rd sg *-tām* only in G *anuvidhiyatām* , but *anuvidhiyatu* S,M

(ii) 3rd pl *-amtu*, *anuvidhiyamtu* K

§ 144 PASSIVE,—Optative

(i) 3rd sg *-yā*, *diseyā* bh

(ii) 3rd pl

1 *-yū* or *-vū*, *yujeyū* j, *yujevū* d

2 *-su* (Aorist term see above § 128) *hamñyasu* S

§ 145 PASSIVE,—Aorist.

(i) 3rd pl *-su*, *ārabhisu* G,M, *arabhiyisu* S, *āla(m)bhiyisu* K,D,J

§ 146 PASSIVE,—Future

(i) 3rd pl *-sare* in G, *ārabhisare* G , but *-samti* elsewhere
susuṁsera G , *ṣuṣuṣyu* K , *suśruṣeyu* E,M

§ 147 PASSIVE,—Middle.

(i) 3rd pl · *-re*, *ārabhare* G , *-iya-re*, *anuvidhiyare* G

§ 148 FUTURE PASSIVE,—Middle

(i) 3rd pl. *isa-re*, *ārabhisare* G.

§ 149 DESIDERATIVE,—Imperative.

(i) 3rd sg. *-tā* G, *-tu* S,M,D,J.

susrusatā G, *susūsatu* D,J, *suśruṣatu* S,M

§ 150 DESIDERATIVE,—Optative

(i) 3rd pl *-ra* in G, *-yu* K,S,M

susumsera G, *ṣuṣuṣeyu* K, *suśruṣyu* S,M

§ 151 DESIDERATIVE,—Subjunctive.

(i) 3rd sg *-tu*, *susuṣātu* K

§ 152 PRESENT PARTICIPLE,—Active

(i) *-amta-*, or *-ta-* (with the loss of anusvāra), *samta-* Major RE, PE, MRE, *kalata-* K, *karata-* S,M, *aśata-* M

(a) The two forms *karum* and *karu* occur in G as nom sg Mas

§ 153 PRESENT PARTICIPLE,—Middle

(i) The ending *-māna* occurs in all versions

bhuṁjamāna- G, *adamāna-* K,D,J, *aśamana-* S (but active form *aśata-* in M), *vijinamana-* S,K, *anuvekhamāna-* T, *samāna-* (< √*as-*) br, sd.

(a) The ending sometimes takes the form *-mīna* cf *sampaṭipajamīna-* d, *vipaṭipādayamīna-* d (but active form *-pātayamta-* in j), *pāyamīna-* PE, *pakamamīna-* sd,yr,ru,b, *palakamamīna-* s

(b) The dental is cerebralised in the South cf *pakamamīna-* (?) br, *samāna* -Kpb

§ 154 PAST PARTICIPLE,—Passive

(i) *-ta, mata-* Major RE, T, *prakamta-* Mysore Gr, *pakamta* MRE, *upayita-* yr

(a) The ending is often cerebralised (under the influence of *r*) in non-Western regions cf *kaṭa-* M,K,D,J,T, sn,rm,ru,Kpb, *apakaṭha-* PE, *vyūṭha-* ru,yr (but *vyūtha-* br)

(ii) *na*, most of the forms are inherited from Sanskrit

prasamna- G, *prasana-* S,M, *paṣamna-* K, *-uvigina-* d,j

(a) For Pkt forms cf *dimna-* T, *dina-* bb

(b) For a few other inherited forms cf *ladha* G,K,S,M, *sudha-* S,D,J,So, *pata-* PE, *asvatha-* PE, etc

§ 155 FUTURE PARTICIPLE,—Passive

(i) *-tavya* used in the West and the South, *-taviya-* (or *-ṭaviya*) in other regions

katavya- G, *drahitavya-* Mysore Gr, *kaṭaviya-* M,K,D,J,T, *pujetaviya* S,M, *hamtaviya-* PE, *dekhitaviya-* MRE

(a) *-ṭaviya* occurs in the South, cf *kaṭaviya-* sd, jtr

(b) *-y-* of the ending is characteristically dropped in S, cf *vijetavia-*

(c) *-vy-* of the ending is assimilated to *-v-* in S, cf *kaṭava-*

(d) *-tavya* occurs as an exception in the East. cf *saṁcalitavya-* j (but *-taviya-* d)

(e) forms with *-tavāya* are apparently mistaken cf *lā(h)khāpetavaya-* ru; *vivasetavāya* ru

(f) similarly *ichitaya-* in j is perhaps meant for *-taviya-*.

(ii) *-anıya-* . *vedanıya-* K,S,M , *asvāsanıya-* j

(iii) *-ya* : Most of the forms are assimilated or dissolved and a few are palatalised. *saka-* G, Mk, sd , *śaka-* S,M , *dupaṭivekha-* PE , *sakıya-* J,ru,yr, *cakiya-* d,j,s,b,Kgb , *kaca-* G

(a) The cluster is preserved in *avadhya-* Rdh (but *avadhıya-* T), *caṁkya-* b.

§ 156 INFINITIVES,

(i) of Accusa *-tu* (< *-tuṁ*) *ārādhetu* G

(ii) of Dat *-tave* (< *-tavai*) *chamıtave* G, *khamıtave* D,J , *bhetave* (< √*bhid*) PE , *jāpotave* MRE , *ārādhetave* yr

(a) The dental is cerebralised in *palıhaṭave* T

§ 157 ABSOLUTIVES The distinction between *-tvā* and *-ya* is not maintained Of the two types of absolutives, those with *-tvā* are more commonly used

(i) *-tpā* (< *-tvā*) · in the West, *ārabhıtpā* G

(ii) *-tu* (< *-tvā*) in other versions *sutu* K,T , *srutu* S,M , *jānıtu* d

(a) The dental is cerebralised in *kaṭu* d, *kaṭū* j

(b) The ending is extended to *-tūnam* in bb cf *abhıvādetūnam* [90]

(iii) *-ya* *sachāya* (< *sam*-√*kṣā*) = *sam-khyā* G , *saṁkhaya* S,M

(a) Instead of the form *samkheye* at K we are asked to read *samkhāya*

(b) The final *-a* > *-ā*, cf *saṁnamdhāpayıyā* sn.

(c) The palatalised form *āgāca* occurs in rm, ng

(d) The cluster is preserved in *adhıgıcya* bh

(iv) *-ti* (< Vedic *-tvī*) is found only in the N-Western dialect [91] Cf *tiṭhiti*, *vijiniti* S , *draśeti* M.

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90 Cf PISCHEL, *Gr* § 585

91. It is found in the Niya Prakrit as well. See BURROW, § 102.

CHAPTER II

SYNTAX

§ 158 It is not intended to give here a detailed account of Aśokan syntax[1] However, such syntactical peculiarities as are observed in the government of cases, case variations, irregularities in concord, absolutive constructions and a few others are discussed below In all such cases where the different versions are unanimous in showing a peculiarity the illustration from only one version is quoted and the others are referred to in brackets It is hardly necessary to observe again that the study of syntax made in this chapter is on the same comparative lines as in earlier chapters on Phonology and Morphology

§ 159 Government of Cases

(a) accusative The verb √*yuj-* takes acc

(i) *imisa aṭhasa vaḍhi yujamtu* S (RE 4, J)[2]

(ii) .. *mahāmātā* *sasvatam samayam etam yujeyu* J (1, Z)

(b) instrumental

1 *anyatra* takes instr in the sense 'except, without

(i) *hidata-pālate dusampaṭipādaye amnata agāyā dhammakāmatāyā* T (PE, 1, C)

(ii) *dukale cu iyam* *anatā agenā palakamenā* K (RE 6, N), also cf RE, 10, E

2 *param* takes instr in the sense 'beyond, after

(i) *palam cā tenā Amtiyogenā* K (RE, 13, Q)

(ii) *palam cā tehi ye apatiye* K (RE, 5, E)

3 Comparative suffix *-tara* takes instr

(i) *nathi hi kammatalā savalokahitenā* K (RE, 6, K) But the G version alone uses abl cf *sava-loka-hitatpā*

(ii) *kim hi imena kaṭaviyatalā* J, (9, L) Here the G version also adopts instr

(c) dative

1 *ni*√*srj-* takes dat in the sense 'to entrust'

(i) *athā hi pajam viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti* T (PE, 4, I)

(d) ablative

1 *ā* takes abl in the sense 'even-to, as far as'

(i) *dupada-catupadesu* *vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye* T (PE, 2, E)

(ii) *a Tambapamniya* M, 13, Q (see *yāvat* below)

2 *yāvat* takes abl in the sense 'as far' or 'as long as'

(i) *iyam kaṭaviye magale āva tasā athasā nivutiyā* K (RE, 9, H) But G version gives dat cf *āva tasa athasa nisṭānāya*

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1 Certain peculiarities of Aśokan Syntax have been studied by Dr José Canedo in his *Zur Wort- und Satzstellung in der alt-und mittleindischen Prosa*

2 References are to Hultzsch's edition.

(ii) *avaṁ Tambapaṁniyā* K, (13, Q, also S).

(e) genitive

1 √*dā-* or *dāna* governs gen.

(i) *baṁdhana-badhānaṁ munisānaṁ* , *me yoṭe dinne* T (PE, 4, L)

(ii) *bambhana-samanānaṁ cā sādhu dāne* K, 3, D (also G, S, M) But dative is used in the versions at D and J (3, D) *bambhana-samanehi sādhu dāne*

For the use of gen, also cf RE, 8, E, RE, 11, C etc where even the D and J versions give gen

2 √*bhū-* in the sense 'to occur', 'to perform' takes gen

(i) *esa me huthā* T, 7, D, J 'The following occurred to me'

(ii) *dhrama-carane pi ca na hoti asilasa* M, (RE, 4, H)

3 √*dars-* takes gen of the person to whom something is shown

(i) *divyāni lupāni dasayitu panasa* K (RE, 4, B), but the G version gives acc cf *dasayitpā janaṁ*

4 *upa*√*kr-* and *apa*√*kr-* take gen

(i) *para-prasaṁḍasa pi ca upakaroti* S, 12, F (also G and M) The K version, however gives acc cf *palapāsaḍa upakaleti*

(ii) *para-prasaṁḍasapi ca apakaroti* S, 12, G (also G and M) The K version gives acc as above cf *pala-pāsaḍa pi vā apakaleti*

5 *prati*√*vid-* 'to inform takes gen

(i) *aṭhaṁ janasa paṭivedetu me* S (RE, 6, D and F)

(ii) *se hakaṁ anusāsitu chaṁdaṁ ca veditu tuphāka* d, 2, J, at j 2, K however acc seems to be intended cf *tuphenι hakaṁ anusāsita chāṁdaṁ ca vedita*

6 peculiar use of *siyā* (< Sk *syāt*) with gen

(i) *siyā aṁtānaṁ avijitānaṁ* 'It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask) ' d, 2, F, j, 2, G cf the use of √*bhū-* above and LUDERS, SPAW, 1914, 866 ff

7 *suśrūṣā* takes gen (and loc)

(i) *mata-pitusu vudhanaṁ susruṣa* S and M, 4, C For similar use also cf *guruna suśruṣa* S, 13, G Here other versions have compounds cf *guru-susuṁsā* G

8 *samyak-pratipatti* takes gen (and loc)

(i) *dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati* S, 9 G, 13, G For loc use in other versions see below

(ii) *ñātinaṁ bamhana-samanānaṁ sampaṭipatī*, G, 4, C (also S, M, K) The versions at D and J give loc (see below)

9 *asampratipatti* 'discourtesy' takes gen (and loc)

(i) *nātinā asampaṭipati samana-bambhanānaṁ asampaṭipati* K, S, M, 4, A For loc in G and D see below

10 *sādhumata-* takes gen

(i) *athi pi cā ekatiyā samājā sādhu-matā Piyadasisā lājine* K, 1, E

11 *toṣa* takes gen. and dat. in K version

(i) *nathi hi me dose* (= *tose*) *uṭhānasā aṭhasaṁtilanāye cā* K, 6, H. For loc. use instead of gen. in all other versions see below.

12. *apaciti* 'reverence' takes gen

(i) *gurūnaṁ apaciti* G (RE, 9, G)

(f) locative

1 *śuśrūṣā* takes loc (for gen use see above)

(i) *sādhu māta-pitisu sususā* K (RE, 3, D, 4, C), also cf T, 7, HH, etc.

2 *samyak-pratipatti* takes loc. (for gen see above)

(i) *nātisu saṁpaṭipati* D and J, 4, C Other versions give gen cf above.

(ii) *dāsa-bhatakamhi samyā-pratipatī* G, 9, G, All other versions except S give loc, also cf RE 13 G

3 *asampratipatti* also takes loc (for gen see above)

(i) *ñātisu asampratipatī* G and J, 4, A, S, M, K give gen

4 *toṣa* takes loc and dat. (for gen see above)

(i) *nasti hi me toṣo uṭhanasi aṭhasamtiranaye cae* S, 6, H, also cf M, D and J versions, only K gives gen

5 *anyatra* 'except used with loc (for instr see above)

(i) *yatā nathi ime nikāyā ānatā yoneṣu* K (RE, 13, J)

6 *anusathi* 'instruction' with loc

(i) *am tuphesu anusathi* d, 1, C and j, 1, D

7 *anugraha* takes loc

(i) *dupada-catupadesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe* T (RE, 2 E)

8 √*icch-* and *icchā* take loc

(i) *atha payāye ichāmi kimti hita-sukhena yūjeyu hemeva me icha sava-munisesu* j, 1, G and d, 1, F

9 *āyata* in the sense of '*vyāpṛta* = occupied' takes loc

(i) *tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasesum āyata* d, 1, D and j, 1, E

(ii) *lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasesu janasī āyatā* T (PE, 4, C), also cf T, 7, M and N

10 *yāvat* used with loc (for abl see above)

(i) *āva dāsa-bhaṭakesu saṁpaṭipatiyā*, T, 7, HH

§ 160 Case variations

1 Nominative Case

(a) used for acc *iya ca aṭhe pavatisu lekhapeta vālata*, ru, 1, J
But acc. is regularly used in s, 1, L cf *ima ca aṭham pavatesu likhāpayā-thā*

(b) Used for instr *etameva me anuvekhamāne dhaṁma-thambhāni kaṭāni* T, 7, P

2 Instrumental case

(a) used for nom *Devanampriyena Priyadraśi raja evaṁ aha*, M, 5, A.
But all other versions read nom regularly cf *Devānampriyo Pripydasi rājā evam āha* G (RE, 5, A)

3 Dative case

(a) used for loc

(i) *jane ucāvucam maṁgalaṁ kaleti ābādhasi pavāsasi etāye*[3] *amnāye cā edisāye jane bahu mamgalam kaleti* K, 9, B (also cf S, M, D, J)

But the G version gives loc regularly cf *asti jano mamgalam karote ābādhesu etamhī ca añamhi ca*

(ii) But at other place even G uses dat for loc *tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī va samto* G, 6 F (also K, S, M)

But here D and J, 6, F give loc cf *tasi aṭhasi*

4 Genitive case This is used for more than one case

(a) gen for nom *tuphāka* (for *tuphe* or *phe*) *tena vàtaviye* d, 1, Q

(b) gen for acc

(i) *aṁtā ca me jānevu* yr (9-10)

(c) gen (with the past passive participle) for instr

(i) *aya dhrama-dipi Devanapriasa raño likhapita*, S, 1, A, other versions, however, point to the regular instr *priyadasinā rāñā lekhāpitā* G (RE, 1, A)

(ii) *priadraśisa raño Kaliga vijita* S, M, K, 13 A The text in G is mutilated at this place but from the remnant *ño* it appears that gen was intended

(iii) *hevam mamā lajukā kaṭā* PE, 4, I

(iv) *saḍuvīsati vasābhisitasa me jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni*, Rdh and Mth, 5, B, but the versions at T, Ksb and Rp give instr *-vasābhisitena me* The use of *me* in gen and instr has probably led to the confusion in the above two versions

(v) *yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa me bamdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni*, Mth, 5, L, all other versions exhibit the use of instr

(d) gen for loc

(i) *bahukam hi dosaṁ samājasa drakhati Piyadasī lājā* J, K and M, 1, D, but loc is used in G and S, 1, D cf *dosam samājamhi pasati*, G

(ii) *se ichitaviye kitim ete jātā no huvevu mamā ti* d, 1, N, *me etāni jātāni* j, 1, O

(iii) *te sava-pāsamḍesu viyāpaṭā Yona-Kamboja-Gamdhālānam e vā pi amne apalamtā* K, 5, J, all other versions similarly use gen but D alone gives regular loc *viyāpaṭā Gamdhālesu Laṭhika-Pitinikesu*

(iv) Introduction of gen. in the midst of locatives. *evameva hida raja-viṣavaspi Yona-Kamboyeṣu Nabhaka-Nabhitina Bhoja-Pitinikeṣu dhramanuśasti anuvaṭamti*, S, 13, R, but the versions at K and M give loc instead cf *Nābhaka-Nābhapamtisu* (The G version is defaced)

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3 The Girnar version suggests that these are dat sg of mas. However, if they are regarded as fem. forms then they can equally be loc. sg

5 Locative case

(a) Loc for dat

(i) *parisā pi yute āñapayisati gananāyaṁ* G (RE, 3, E)

(b) Loc for gen

(i) *jīvesu anālambhe sādhu,* D and J, 3, D, but other versions give gen cf *prānānam sādhu anārambho* G (RE, 3, D) Even D and J give gen as in other versions in RE, 4, C, cf *anālambhe pānānam*

§ 161 Peculiarities of Concord

1 Concord of subject and predicate

(a) *jana* construed with sg and pl *jane dhamma susuṣā susuṣātu* (sg) *me ti dhamma-vatam vā anuvidhiyaṁtu* (pl) *ti* K, 10, A, but S and M use sg in both places

(b) For the use of a collective noun in singular also cf *save catupade* (sg) *ye paṭibhogam no eti na ca khādiyati* RE, 5 B,

(c) The predicate *asti* (*athi*) is used with nom pl

(i) *asti pi tu ekacā samājā sādhumatā* G (RE, 1, E)

(ii) *iyam dhammalibi ata athi silāthambhāni vā tata kaṭaviyā* T, 7, SS

(d) Similarly *nāsti* (*nathi*) is used with nom pl

(i) *osudhāni yata yata nāsti* G (RE, 2, B), for similar use also cf RE, 3, c and 13, J

(ii) *yasa nāsti sayame bhāva-sudhitā* G (RE, 7, E)

(e) Sg predicate with plural subject

(i) *dhammāpekhā dhammakāmatā cā vaḍhīsati* PE, 1, D

(f) Pl predicate used with nom sg

(i) *palisā pi ca yutāni gananasi anapayisamti* K, 3, E Similar construction occurs in S version also But G, M and J use the predicate in sg

(ii) *ye hi kecha ata pāsaḍa punāti kiti ata pāṣamda dipayema* K, 12 II The versions at G and M similarly give the plural forms of √*dipa* but the S version gives singular *dipayami*

(iii) *kayānammeva dekhamti iyam me kayāne kaṭe ti,* Rdh, Mth, RP, 3 B, but T and Ksb give sg *dekhati*

(iv) *tam loke anūpaṭīpamne tam ca anuvidhiyamti* T, 7, GG

2. Concord of Noun and Adjective

I Gender

(a) Adj agrees with mas when the substantives are mas and fem *vivāde nijhati vā saṁtam* (= *samto*), RE, 6, F

(b) Adj used in neut when it qualifies different genders

(i) *imāni āsinavagāmīni nāma atha camdiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā* RE, 3, F

(c) Mas is referred to by *kāni* and *nāni* in neuter

(i) *nātikā va kāni nijhapayisamti* PE, 4, M, also cf PE, 5, C, 6, C

(ii) *kimti bhūtānam ānamnam gacheyam idha ca nāni sukhāpayāmi* G (RE, 6, L)

II. Number

(a) nom. sg adj construed with pl substantive *yena ete abhītā asvatha saṁtaṁ*, PE, 4, J

§ 162 Absolutive constructions

(a) Nominative singular absolute

(i) *hevam ca kalamtam* (nom) *tuphe caghatha sampaṭipādayitave* d, 1, X , for other uses cf d, 2, L and P , mk Section G

(ii) *pātayamtam* j, 1, S and T

(iii) *samtam* j, 2, Q , PE, 4, J cf LUDERS, *SPAW* 1913 1010

(iv) *nāsamtaṁ* PE, 4, M cf LUDERS, ibid 1913 1023

(v) *-pajamtam*, T, 7, PP

(vi) *duāhale* d, 1, T cf HULTZSCH, Inscriptions of Aśoka p 95, f n 13

(vii) The form *karum* occurring at G, 11, E and 12, F is of nom absolute according to Senart, Buhler and Hultzsch

(b) Genitive singular absolute

(i) *adamānasā me paṭivedakā aṭham vedetu*, K (RE, 6, D)

(c) Locative singular absolute

(i) *adhunā ladhesu Kalimgesu tīvo dhammavāyo*, G (RE, 13, C)

§ 163 To denote time various cases are used

(a) Nom *sātileke cu chavachare* ru, 1, D (cf other versions of MRE)

(b) Acc

(i) *atikātam amtaram* G (RE, 4, A), for similar use cf Major RE 5, H , 6, B , 8, A

(ii) *sātirekām adhatiyāni vasāni* Kpb B (also cf other MRE)

(c) Inst

(i) *bahūhi vāsa-satehi* G (RE, 4, C)

(ii) *iminā ca kālena amisā munisā devehi* yr 4-5

(d) Dat.

(i) *dighāya* 'in distant (future)' G, 10, A , other versions, however, use loc cf *āyatiye* and *ayatiya*

(ii) *yā imāya kālāya amisā devā husu* ru, E , but inst is used in *etena ca amtalena*, s, E and *iminā kālena*, br, F

(e) Loc

(i) *pamcasu pamcasu vāsesu* G (RE, 3, C)

(ii) *save kāle*, G, 6, D and F , but other versions give acc , cf *savaṁ kālam*

(iii) *tīsu cātummāsisu* (loc) *tisāyam pumnamāsiyam* (loc) *timni divasāni* (acc) *cāvudasam pamnaḍasaṁ paṭipadāye* (loc) *dhuvāye cā anuposatham mache avadhiye* T, 5, H , but among the other versions of this edict, Mi gives *paṭipadā* (nom. or acc ?) and Rdh, Mth and Rp give *paṭipadam* (acc)

(iv) *se imāyaṁ velāyaṁ amisā devā samānā* Kpb, E

§ 164. Some peculiar constructions

(a) Change in construction is observed in —
te sava-pāsamḍesu vyāpata dhāmadhisṭānāya . . ye vā pi aṁñā āparātā G, (RE, 5, J) Here the change in the construction is made from *ye vā* but some such word as *tesu* is omitted at the end

(b) Similarly the construction is broken in section M of the RE 5 at G, K, S and M cf *savesu olodhanesu e vā pi amne nātikye savatā viyāpaṭā* (K version) But the D version reads *savesu olodhanesu amnesu vā nātikesu*

(c) *ta mama putā ca potā ca param ca tena ya me apacam anuvatisare tathā so sukataṁ kāsati* G, 5, E Here the sg construction in *so sukataṁ kāsati* in spite of the plural in antecedent is noteworthy All other versions give the plural construction in its stead

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA IN THE LIGHT OF PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS

The grammars of different Prakrit languages were written at a very late stage when all the Prakrits described in them had assumed a more or less standardised literary form They were then no longer in the process of formation as most of the characteristics which distinguished them from one another had come to become normal The inscriptions of Aśoka, on the other hand, represent a very early stage in the development of MI-A languages If we were to except a few Prakritisms in Vedic Sanskrit, a few Prakrit words quoted by Sanskrit grammarians, and the Prakrit inscription on the Piprahwa vase and the Sohgaura copper plate (L 931 and L 937), the inscriptions of Aśoka are the oldest dated records in MI-A dialects It may, therefore, be assumed that these inscriptions show at least in certain cases the starting point of the characteristics noted and perhaps exaggerated by later grammarians. It would be wrong to suppose that at such an early stage as these inscriptions represent such phonetic changes as the change of intervocal surds to sonants or loss of intervocal stops should have any sweeping force Such changes are therefore only restricted in their scope and are useful only in showing the tendencies of a particular region

It would therefore be profitable to correlate the results of the studies in Phonology and Morphology of these inscriptions to the treatment of various dialects given by Prakrit grammarians Of these grammarians the following discussion takes into account only Vararuci, as the oldest Prakrit grammarian, and Hemacandra for having given an exhaustive treatment to the study of Prakrits Though these grammarians enumerate a large number of Prakrits they treat of only three or four principal Prakrits in details viz the Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Paiśāci For our present purposes we may leave aside the question of Paiśācī, as the problem of its original home is not yet finally settled Among the rest, Māhārāṣṭrī may roughly correspond to the Western inscriptions of Aśoka, Māgadhī to the Eastern and Śaurasenī to the Central Indian inscriptions We have at present no knowledge of a Prakrit deriving its name from a Southern country and which would have corresponded with the Southern inscriptions of Aśoka The purpose of the present chapter is to compare, wherever possible, the dialectal variations noted by the grammarians with the regional distinctions observed in Aśokan inscriptions This will enable us to see how far the later tendencies witnessed in literary Prakrits have any historical bearing

PHONOLOGY

I Vowels The treatment of the vowel *ṛ* is not so specifically dealt with by the grammarians as to point to any dialectal distinction It is, however, studied by some of the modern scholars who point out that the *ṛ* > *a* treatment is predominant in the West and the South and that the *ṛ* > *i* treatment in other regions[1] This distinction

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1. J BLOCH, La Formation d la langue Marathe, §31 , S K CHATTERJEE, Bengali Language, §137 , PISCHEL, Gr Pkt Spr §49-51 , GEIGER, Pāli Gr §12 , all these are quoted by WOOLNER in his Introduction to Pkt , §60.

finds an exact reflection in the Aś inscriptions in as much as the ṛ > a treatment is the principal one in the Western and the ṛ > i treatment in the non-Western regions.

As regards the change in the quantity of the vowels before consonant clusters, though Hemacandra expresses himself in a definite manner in the Sūtras 1 43, 84 and 2 92, Vararuci is astonishingly silent about it "Are we therefore to interpret", asks COWELL in his edition of the Prākṛta-Prakāśa by Vararuci (second issue, p 186) "the silence of Vararuci as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prâkrit, and only became fully recognised in later times?" This statement is to a certain extent borne out by the Aś inscriptions Hemacandra makes only a qualified statement in laying down that short vowels are lengthened in the metrically long syllables (cf 1 43 and 2 92) In Aś inscriptions we find that short vowels in this position are only occasionally lengthened in the non-Western regions They undergo this change in the West only in rare cases According to Hemacandra, however, the change of long vowels before consonant clusters is of a sweeping nature (1 84) without any dialectal distinction. But in the inscriptions of Aśoka we notice that long vowels, except ū, are usually shortened in the regions other than the West where they are normally preserved The long vowel ū is, however, shortened in all regions with only a few exceptions

II Simple Consonants It is mostly in this sphere that the dialectal variations in Prakrits are recognised by the grammarians The elision of intervocal single consonant is a singular characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrī (V 2 2, H. 1 177) This compares well with Aś inscriptions where this tendency is met with only in the West and the N-West, though in a restricted number of cases Thus the elements of a tendency later on exaggerated in the Māhārāṣṭrī literature may be regarded to have been found in the corresponding region in the days of Asoka

The change of *-t-* > *-d-* (also *t-* > *d-*) and of *-th-* > *-dh-* is one of the salient features of Śaurasenī (V 12 3, H 4 260-2 and 267) and Māgadhī (H on 4 302) The change of *t-* > *d-* and of *-t-* > *-d-* is only exceptionally met with in the North and the N-West This early Northern characteristic seems to have developed later on into a characteristic feature of the non-Western dialects The change of *-th-* > *-dh-* is however, not noticed in the Aś inscriptions[2]

In the treatment of the palatal *j* and the semi-vowel *y* it may be gathered that the later usage does not quite correspond to the earlier tendencies The grammarians lay down that intervocal *-j-* is dropped and sometimes *-y-* is developed in its stead in Māhārāṣṭrī (H 1 177, 180), but it is invariably changed to *y*, both initially and medially, in Māgadhī (V 11 4, H 4 292) In the Aś inscriptions, loss of intervocal *-j-* is not met with and the change of *-j-* > *-y-* is obtained not in the East so as to be a characteristic of Māgadhī later on, but in the N-West With regard to *y* it is prescribed that whereas it is preserved in Māgadhī (H 4 292) it is changed to *j-* or *-j-* in other languages (V 2 31, H 1 248) But in the inscriptions of Aśoka intervocal *-y-* > *j-* only in a few cases in the East and the N-West Then again initially *y-* is lost mostly in the indeclinables and relative pronouns in the Eastern dialect of

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2 For the first appearance of this characteristic in a little later inscriptions cf *radha* (< Sk *ratha*), *padhama-* (< Sk *prathama-*), etc in the Udayagiri inscription (L 1345) in the East and *kadhika-* (< Sk *kathika-*) etc in the Amaravati inscriptions (EI 15.270 40) in the South

Aśoka and not in the Western Intervocally, however, -*y* is preserved in the East, its elision being restricted only to the N-West

The cerebral nasal *ṇ* is preserved in all Prakrits except Paiśācī where it is changed to the dental *n* (V 10 5, H 4 306) As this feature distinguishes all other Prakrits from Paiśācī it is worth while to note that it is the Eastern dialect of Aśoka's time which agrees with Paiśācī in this respect. The cerebral *ṇ* is preserved in the West, N-West and the South in those days[3]

The change of *r* to *l* in all positions forms one of the principal characteristics of Māgadhī according to the grammarians (H 4 288) This change is optional in Śaura seni, more frequent in Ardha-Māgadhī and a few instances have been recorded where it occurs in Māhārāṣṭrī (V 2 30) This treatment of the semivowel *r* is definitely borne out by the inscriptions of Asoka which point out that *l* was substituted for *r* in the court language of Magadha but not in that of the West, N-West (and the South)

The three Sk sibilants fall together in the single dental sibilant in all later Prak rits except Māgadhī (V 2 43, H 1 260, for Paisācī cf H 4 309) The Māgadhī of the grammarians singles out itself in this connection and consistently shows the palatal *ś* instead of the dental *s* (V 11 3, H 4 288) It is in this respect again that the dialectal distinction of the later Prakrits does not correspond to the one noticed in the Aś inscriptions In these inscriptions even the Eastern dialect together with others (except in the N-West) shows the dental *s* and not the palatal *ś* The Kālsī edicts of Asoka situated in the Dehra Dun district of the United Provinces no doubt point sometimes to *ś* (< *s*), but they even preserve *ṣ* or *s* or change *s* to *ṣ* As has been remarked in the treatment of these sibilants in the First Chapter on Phonology, this confusion is attributed by scholars to the ignorance of the scribe and is no longer regarded as representing the correct pronunciation of the people.

Palatalisation of a few single consonants and mostly of dentals in combination with *y* is a feature recorded by later grammarians as common to all Prakrits without any dialectal distinction The inscriptions of Asoka, however, point almost in all cases to some geographical distinction Thus the cluster *kṣ* is palatalised to *ch* in all positions in the West and the N-West but it is assimilated to *kh* in other regions The clusters -*ty*- and *ts*- are palatalised mostly in the West, N-West and the South The clusters -*dy*- and -*dhy*- are, however, palatalised in all regions In this connec tion the difference in the treatment of the cluster *dy* in the Eastern inscriptions of Asoka and the Māgadhī of the grammarians may be pointed out It has been already noted that Māgadhī changes *j* to *y* and as a corollary to it the cluster *dy* is changed not to *jj* as in other literary Prakrits but to *yy* in Māgadhī (H 4 292) The Eastern dialect in Aśoka s period, however, only palatalises -*dy*- to -*j*- (i e -*jj*-) without any further change The change of -*ry*- > -*j*- or -*jj*- which is prescribed for Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī by Hemacandra (2 24 and 4 266) is not met with in the Aś inscrip tions[4] The initial palatalisation of *t*- > *c*- which is found in the Eastern and North-

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3 The tendency to preserve -*n*- or change it to -*ṇ*- is witnessed even in later Prakrit inscriptions all over India The full preservation of -*n* is met with in very late inscriptions of the 4th cent A D cf for instance the language employed in the Bāsim plates of Central India (EI 26 137ff)

4 For its appearance later on in the South cf *Ruddajja*- < Sk *Rudrārya* EI 17 329[8] *majādā* < Sk *maryādā* (L 1205), etc and also the Central Indian copper plates of Bāsim (EI 26.152ff).

ern dialects of Aśoka seems to have been later on incorporated by Śaurasenī and Mahārāṣṭrī also.

Cerebralisation of dentals under the influence of *r*, *ṛ* or a sibilant is noticed by grammarians as a feature common to all Prakrits The Western dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka, however, clearly distinguishes itself from others by the preservation of the dentals in a large number of cases The cerebralisation in Māhārāṣṭrī, therefore, seems to have been a later development under the Eastern influence Similarly the cerebralisation of *n* to *ṇ* in all positions is a later development of the literary Prakrits (V 2 42, H 1 228-9) which is not noticed so strongly in the earlier stages In the inscriptions of Aśoka *n*- is preserved in all versions except the one at Kopbāḷ in H E H the Nizam's Dominions where *n*- |> *ṇ*- and -*n*- > -*ṇ*- in all cases Intervocally -*ṇ*- > -n- also in the West and the N -West Even in terminations the cerebral -*ṇ*- (< -*n*-) is replaced by the dental -*n*- in all versions except those at Mysore and Kopbāḷ in the South [5]

The cluster -*jñ*- is cerebralised to *ṇṇ*- in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī (V 3 44, 12 8, H 2 42), but palatalised to -*ññ*- in *Māgadhī* (H 4 293) and Paisācī (H 4 303-4) But in the inscriptions of Asoka the palatal treatment is noticed only in the West (and sometimes in the N -West), the Eastern, Central and the Northern inscriptions assimilating it to -*mn*- The cerebral treatment, again, is observed in the two distant corners viz the N -Western and Southern inscriptions

The change of intervocal sonants to surds, both aspirate and unaspirate, forms the salient feature of Paiśācī (and Cūlikā-Paisācī) Prakrit (V 10 3, H 4 307, 325) This type of change is only sporadically observed in the inscriptions of Aśoka But the important point of note, which may contribute towards deciding of the original home of Paiśācī, is that whereas in the case of -*g*- > -*k*- the change is observed in N-West and the South, the change of -*j*- > -*c*- (or -*d*- > -*t*-) may be regarded to have started in the East

III Consonant Clusters The principles of assimilation and others which have simplified Sk clusters in literary Prakrits are seen working in the inscriptions of Asoka also A few peculiarities, however, may be discussed below

(i) Clusters with stops The change of -*cch* > -*sc*- noticed in Māgadhī (H 4 295) is not witnessed in any version of the Aś inscriptions Then again Māgadhī has some clusters with sibilants Thus -*ṭṭ*- and -*ṣṭh*-|> -*sṭ*- in Māgadhī (H 4 290 also 289) Now the cluster -*ṣṭh*- normally becomes -*ṭh* (or -*th*-) in the non-Western inscriptions of Aśoka It is preserved as -*sṭ*- but not in the East, as one may expect from its later appearance as a Māgadhī characteristic but in the Girnar version of the Rock Edicts in the West Similarly -*sth*- and -*rth*-|> -*st*- in Māgadhī (H 4 291) But these clusters become -*th*- or -*ṭh*- in Aśokan inscriptions except in the West where it is preserved in the form -*st*- seen in later Māgadhī As these special treatments which are peculiar to later Māgadhī are seen only in the West in the Aśokan inscriptions and are not available even in the later Prakrit inscriptions in the East (e g the Rāmgarh cave inscriptions L 920-L921, Bodh-Gayā inscriptions L 939-L948, Udaya-

5 Partial cerebralisation of *n* is witnessed in all later Prakrit inscriptions, the tendency towards cerebralisation getting stronger from the beginning of the Christian era. The complete change of *n* > *ṇ* is felt in the 3rd and 4th cent A D copper plates. Cf L 1194, L 1200, EI 26 137ff, etc

giri and Khaṇḍagiri cave inscriptions L 1342-L 1353) it is very difficult to say when this characteristic went over from West to East

(ii) Clusters with *y* The cluster *ry* submits to many changes in later literary Prakrits cf *-ry-* > *rla* (V 3 20, H 2 107, also 67), *-ry-* > *-r-* (V 3.18-19, H 2 63-64), *-ry-* > *-ara-* and *-rijj-* (H 2 67) All these treatments show highly developed phonetic changes They are therefore not expected to appear in the inscriptions of Aśoka In them we find only the treatment *-ry-* > *-riy-*, *-ly-*, or *-y-*

The preservation of the cluster *vy* in all positions which forms the Western characteristic in Aśokan period is not observed by later grammarians as in course of time even this regional tendency must have been obliterated

(iii) Clusters with *r* It is enjoined by the grammarians that such clusters should always be assimilated They notice, however, optional preservation only in the case of *dr* (V 3 3-4, H 2 79-80) We have seen in the treatment of such clusters that they were often preserved in the N-Western and the Western inscriptions of Aśoka Thus it appears that even these clusters together with others came to be assimilated in all regions during the period of the Pkt grammarians

(iv) Clusters with *v* A dialectal variation in the treatment of the cluster *rv* is noticed by Hemacandra Whereas it is assimilated to *-vv-* in other Prakrits, it is dissolved into *-rav-* or *-lav-* in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī (H 4 270 and on 4 302) In the Aś inscriptions the cluster *rv* is either preserved or assimilated to *-v-* in the West and the N-West. In the East (and the North), besides being assimilated to *-v-*, it is sometimes dissolved as in Māgadhī, but with this distinction that the dissolved form is *-luv-* and not *-lav*

(v) Clusters with sibilants The changes of the cluster *kṣ* to *kh* or *ch* are already noticed above under palatalisation Further it may be mentioned here that the occasional change of *ks* > *-sk-* noticed by grammarians as a Māgadhī feature (V 11 8, H 4 297) is never met with in the Aś inscriptions

(vi) Clusters with nasals

(a) With the nasal *ñ* The treatment of the cluster *jñ-* > *-nn-* or *-ññ-* is already discussed above A curious treatment of this cluster by which it is sometimes changed to *j-* or *-jj-* in the literary Prakrits (V 3 5, H 2 83) is not found in Aś inscriptions The cluster *-ñj-* is assimilated to *-ññ-* in Māgadhī according to Hemacandra (4.293) It is only the Shāhbāzgarhī version in the N West which corresponds to this Māgadhī characteristic by changing *-ñj-* > *-ñ-*, otherwise the cluster is represented as *-mj-* or *-j*

(b) With the nasals *n* and *ṇ* The clusters *ny* and *ṇy* are always palatalised to *ññ* in Māgadhī and Paiśācī according to Hemacandra (4 293 and 305) They are cerebralised to *-ṇṇ-* in other Prakrits But in the inscriptions of Aśoka the palatal treatment is not witnessed in the East, it being confined to the N-West and the West In the East the clusters are assimilated to the dental nasal *n* The cerebral treatment, though rare, forms again the characteristic of the Mānsehrā version in the N-West

(c) With the nasal *m* The Cluster *-tm-* is mostly changed to *-pp-* in Māhārāṣṭrī and to *-pp-* or *-tt-* in other Prakrits (V 3 48, H 2.51 seems to allow both forms in Māhārāṣṭrī) In Aśokan inscriptions the cluster is preserved as *-tp-* in the Western and the Southern divisions but assimilated to *-t-* elsewhere Thus this Aśokan Western characteristic of *-tm-* > *-tp-* seems to have been further developed into *-tm* > *-tp-* > *pp-* as a predominant feature of Māhārāṣṭrī

MORPHOLOGY

The dialectal variations in the declensional and the conjugational systems of the literary Prakrits are not many, and thus most of the regional variations noticed in the second chapter on Morphology seem to have been obliterated later on Still a few peculiarities may be discussed below

I Declension The nom sg term *-e* in Māgadhī for the stems ending in *-a* (V 11 10, H 4 287) is definitely reflected in the Eastern dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka The nom. sg neut *-e* found in the Aśokan Eastern dialect is, however, not met with later on in Māgadhī which gives with other Prakrits the term *-aṁ*

The nom acc pl neut, the inst sg, and the gen pl terminations of some stems always show a cerebral *-ṇ-* in the literary Prakrits As has been already noticed, only a beginning is made in this direction in the Southern inscriptions of Aśoka, all others and even some of the Southern inscriptions show the dental *-n-* in terminations

The optional term *-āha* for gen sg and *-haṁ* for gen pl which are found in Māgadhī (V 11 12, H 4 299, 300) are never witnessed in Aś inscriptions

The instr, dat, abl and gen sg terminations of the fem nouns always preserve *-y-* in the endings *-yā* or *-ye* in the Aś inscriptions The literary Prakrits, however, never preserve this *-y-* of the terminations They are again definitely richer in terminations for these cases than the inscriptions of Asoka

The nom sg of stems in *-i* and *-u* show either a short or long *i* and *u* at the end in the inscriptions The literary Prakrits always end in *-ī* and *-ū* in these cases

Among the stems ending in *-ṛ* a noteworthy feature which appears in a single inscription of Aśoka and very often in the later Prakrit inscriptions but which never figures in the literary Prakrits is the gen sg term. *u* coming directly from the Sk ending *-uḥ* in such form as *mātuḥ*

The instances of the consonantal declension are not many Though in general such bases are transferred to the corresponding vowel bases the Aś. inscriptions preserve more Sk forms, with the necessary phonetic changes, than the literary Prakrits Thus for example, the instr sg of *-at* stem in Aś inscriptions ends in *-ā* (cf *bhagavatā, hetuvatā*) instead of *-ena* as in literary Prakrits In the declension of *-an* and *-in* stems, however, even the literary Prakrits preserve some of the forms of the corresponding Sanskrit declension

In the forms of Pronouns also there is not much to distinguish one literary Prakrit from the other As compared with inscriptions the peculiar form *hage* used in Māgadhī for nom pl of the first personal pronoun is not found in the Aś inscriptions On the contrary some of the inscriptional bases as *apha-* and *tupha-* for the first and second personal pronouns respectively become obsolete in the literary Prakrits There are also a few other peculiar forms in the Aś inscriptions which are all detailed above in the chapter on Morphology

II Conjugation In this sphere also there is not much to discuss from the view point of dialectal distinctions The change of *-t-* > *-d-* in third pers sg term. is noticed in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī (H 4 273 and H on 4.302) This intervocal *-t-* is characteristically lost in Māhārāṣṭrī which then gives terminations like *-i*, *-u* etc Thus *-t-* is preserved only in the Paiśācī Prakrit (H 4 318-19) These phonetic changes mark a clear advanced stage and as such are absent in the Aś inscriptions Similarly the change *-th-* > *-dh-* in the term of the second per pl in Imperative is found

in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, but it is absent in Aś inscriptions[6] The regional distinctions wherever they occur in the inscriptions, as for example the terminations of the middle voice in the West almost to the exclusion of all other regions, are already noticed above and hence they are not noted here

The formatives of the participles in the literary Prakrits differ among themselves only in this respect that whereas the intervocal *-t-* > *-d-* in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, its occlusion is lost in Māhārāṣṭrī As is noticed above this stage of phonetic development is not reached in the days of Aśoka The other point which deserves notice is that the *-n-* in the formative of the middle present participle is cerebralised to *-ṇ-* in literary Prakrits But for a few instances of similar cerebralisation in the South, this dental *-n-* is always preserved in Aś inscriptions

The endings of the Absolutives are rather confused in the literary Prakrits. The term *-tūnaṁ*[7] figures in all literary Prakrits but except for the form *abhivādetūnaṁ* in the Bhābrā edict it is quite absent in Aś inscriptions The term *-ttā*[8] which is noticed by Hemacandra in his commentary on the sūtra 2 271 in the treatment of Śaurasenī language is also absent in these inscriptions On the contrary we get *-tpā* in the West and *-tu* in other regions in the Aś inscriptions The archaic term *-ti* (< Vedic *-tvī*) noted in the N -Western dialect naturally does not survive in the later period

Thus it appears that some of the distinguishing characteristics of later Prakrits are reflected in the corresponding regional variations observed in Aś inscriptions One important fact which emerges from this correlation is that some of the characteristics of later Māgadhī were current in the West (or N -West) rather than in the East in the days of Aśoka It has been already remarked that some of these western characteristics are not apparent even in the Eastern Prakrit inscriptions of later period But together with this it must also be remembered that sufficient inscriptional material after the period of Khāravela's inscriptions in the East is not available So long as such data are not available in the East the date of the movement of the Western characteristics towards the East will remain a moot point Then again the question regarding the reasons which led to the incorporating of these foreign elements in the Eastern dialect will have to be faced In this connection it may be noted that after the fall of Maurya empire Magadha never came into prominence till the rise of the Guptas But it is very difficult to decide at this stage the extent to which these events in the political history of India had their reaction on the linguistic movements

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6 The voicing of *-th-* in term does not appear even in later Pkt inscriptions until we come to the 4th cent A D Bāsim copper plates cf *rakkhadha, rakkhāpedha,* etc EI 26 153 lines 25, 26, etc

7 This term becomes more frequent in the 2nd and 3rd cent, A D inscriptions of S India cf L 1200, L 1202, L 1203, etc also cf Nāgārjuni Koṇḍa inscriptions

8 It occurs in the 4th cent A D copper plates at Bāsim (E 26 153, line 25) in the form *karettā*

AŚOKAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

A complete Bibliography of Aśokan inscriptions has for a long time remained a desideratum awaiting fulfilment as early as possible It is true that some scholars like Franke, Smith and D R Bhandarkar have added Bibliographical notes to their works on Aśoka (see below Nos 135, 375, 377, 28) and that HULTZSCH has given the chronology of all earlier studies undertaken by various scholars with regard to a particular inscription Yet numerous articles by eminent scholars have appeared since HULTZSCH's publication of CII Vol 1 in 1925 The following Bibliography has been prepared with a view to making it as exhaustive and up to date as possible by including all earlier and recent studies of scholars in various countries and in as many languages Due to the wartime emergency conditions present at the time when this Essay was prepared some of the latest issues of Periodicals dealing with Indology as well as a few earlier and rare books and articles could not be availed of by me This attempt is, therefore, restricted to the Books and Periodicals which I could obtain in Western India, and as such I offer my apologies to readers for some omissions that may have remained in the list below Such works as I myself could not consult and the details of which are due to second hand reference have been indicated in the following list with an asterisk mark Still there remain some Periodicals containing articles dealing with Asokan inscriptions even the details about which could not be given, and all these incomplete references have been given at the end I shall therefore be obliged if the readers will give me suggestions to improve this Bibliography and send me information regarding the incomplete references and the likely omissions

Besides being as exhaustive as possible, there is another important feature of this Bibliography It does not merely enumerate the names of authors and their works but also tries to give in short, and if possible in the author's own words, the nature of their contents The personal history of Aśoka and the early history of Buddhism require to be substantiated by the evidence offered by these inscriptions and hence important works dealing with these subjects merit mention in this Bibliography It is hoped that the present effort will be useful to all those who undertake the study of these inscriptions from any point of view [1]

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P 345, footnote 8 *savaccharam* (occurring in the Minor Rock Edict) Some scholars would take this word to mean one year But in the face of the corresponding words *saḍvacchale* (*sad* = 6) and *chhavachhare* (*chh* = 6) used respectively in the Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth versions, such interpretation seems incorrect

Pp 346-47 The No 256 is a date beginning with the year of Buddha's death The person denoted by '*vyûtha*' or '*vivutha*' which simply means 'departed', however, does not refer to Buddha (see below Fleet, No 121) but to Asoka himself who had probably just then 'departed' to the other world

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(b) Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical Ājīvikas pp 89-92
(c) Chronology of the Edicts pp 92-124
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3 *Nāsamta* in IE IV > *nāsa* + *anta* = End (*anta*) which is Destruction (*nāśa*) referring to *mṛtyu* or death *nijhapayisamti* = will propitiate

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(b) *ayāya sambodhim* real meaning seems to be that 'Aśoka himself became a Buddha' pp 140-41

(c) *samāja*—Council or gatherings pp 141-42

(d) *vyuthena, parisā* and *parisāyaṁ* refer to the Assembly of Ministers pp 142-43

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85 CHARPENTIER, J "Antiochus, King of Yavanas" BSOS 6 203-21 1930-32
Antiochus I (281-262-61 B C) is mentioned in Aśokan Inscription.

86 CHARPENTIER, J "Remarks on the Fourth Rock-Edict of Aśoka" IHQ 9 76-87 1933 Discussion on three passages

87.* CHARPENTIER J "Kleins Bemerkungen zum funften Saulenedikt des Aśoka" Festchr Winternitz 303-12 1933

88 CHAUDHARI, Bankim Ch Ray "Surāṣṭra under the Mauryas" IHQ 7 629-32 1931 A reply to the article by Dr Ghoshal, see below No 140

89 CLARK, W E "Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī" JAOS 44 81-121 1924 "The Aśokan inscriptions seem to prove that the official language of Magadha in third century B C had *s*, not *ś*" (p 90)

90 COURT, M. A "Extracts Translated from a Memoir on a Map of Peshâwar and the country comprised between the Indus and the Mydesphes, the Peucclaotis and Taxila of Ancient Geography' JASB 5 468-82 1836 Notice of the existence of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock (p 481)

91 COUSENS, H "Description of Rupnath Rock" Progress reports, ASWI 1903-04. para 113 pp 35-36

92 CUNNINGHAM, A Inscriptions of Aśoka CII Vol 1 (old edition) Calcutta 1877

Review E Senart, JA Sér VII tom 13 522-45 1879 Various linguistic and palaeographic notes For the meaning of 256, see pp 524-26

Part I (a) General and detailed account of the Inscriptions (including the Deotek Slab) pp 1-42 (b) Texts (in Roman with plates) and translation. His translation accompanies the available translations by Prinsep, Wilson, Burnouf and Buhler pp 65-141

Part II (a) Language of the Inscriptions pp 43-8 (b) Alphabetical characters pp 49-63

93 DAVIDS, Mrs C A F Rhys "Asoka, Heir of the way", Indian Art and Letters 14 (NS) 46-53 1940

"Whatever be the truth about the monkhood of Aśoka's closing years, it is in the Edicts that he is shown a true heir of Gotama's way of the Worlds"

94 DAVIDS, T W RHYS "On the Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon" The International Numismata Orientalia pp 57-60 London. 1877 Supplementary note on the Sahasrâm and Rúpnâth Edict The author points out that the edict is not certainly and necessarily Buddhist

95 DAVIDS, T W RHYS "Note on some of the titles used in the Bhabra Edict of Aśoka" JPTS 1896 93-98 London

Aśoka does not refer to books but makes a selection of seven passages only from the Piṭakas The article contains also some notes on identifications

96 DAVIDS, T W Rhys "The Sambodhi in Asoka's Eighth Edict" JRAS 1898 619-22

"There would seem to be no sufficient reason why we should not understand Aśoka to mean that he had started, in his own opinion, along the Eightfold Path, towards the attainment, doubtless in some future birth, of Arhatship"

97. DAVIDS, T W. Rhys. "Asoka's Bhabra Edict" JRAS 1898 639-40 Identification of *Vinaya-samukamsa* etc

98 DAVIDS, T W Rhys Dialogues of the Buddha Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol II London 1899

(i) Preface, p xiii ff "It is clear that in Aśoka's time there was acknowledged to be an authoritative literature, , containing what was then believed to be the words of the Buddha"

(ii) pp 190-191 *sambodhi* = insight of the higher stages of the path to Arhatship

99 * DAVIDS, T W Rhys Milinda Vol I p xxxviii For Bhābrū edict

100 DAVIDS, T W Rhys Buddhist India, London 1903

(i) For identification of *ariyavasāni, anāgata-bhayāni, munigāthā, moneya-sutta, upatissa pasina* in the Bhābrā Edict, see pp 169-70

(ii) For a chapter on Aśoka, see pp 272-307

101 * DEB, H K Aśoka's Dhammalipis Calcutta 1919

102 DEB, H K "Notes on some edicts of Aśoka" JPASB 16 (NS) 331-37 1920

RE VI Notes on *dāpake, srāvāpake* and *mahāmātra*

PE V A quotation from Arthaśāstra relating to *bandhanamokṣa*

PE VI Note on *pāpova*

103 DEB, H K "The Svastika and the Omkāra" JPASB 17 (NS) 231-47 1921 Association of *ma* in the Jaugaḍa version of the two separate edicts with the svastika sign p 233

104 DIKSHITAR, V R R The History of Early Buddhism in India JBIIS 2 51-74 1929

Asoka was neither a Buddhist nor a Jaina, but a follower of the established religion of the land, what we may now call the earlier form of Hinduism (p 72)

105 DIKSHITAR, V R R "Asoka's Religion--The Evidence of Archaeology" JOR 4 267-81 1930

" the monuments of Aśoka cannot carry conviction home to decide the religious leaning of the Emperor to Buddhism"

106 DIKSHITAR, V R R The Mauryan Polity Madras 1932

Ch I Section (iv) Inscriptions of Aśoka pp 27-48

Ch VII Section (iii) Aśoka's Dharma pp 250-59 Section (V) Aśoka's Personal Religion pp 276 99

107 DIKSHITAR, V R R "Dharma Vijaya A New Interpretation Dr K B Pathak Comm Vol pp 280-286 1934

" the term *dharmavijaya* has nothing to do with the doctrine of Buddhism, but is a healthy method of righteous war which Aśoka advocated"

108 DIKSHITAR, V R R "The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka" Woolner Comm. Vol pp 68-74 1940 Appendix gives the Shāhbāzgarhī Text pp 75-76

1 Kalinga war was waged not to make any fresh conquest, but to suppress a rebellion in the empire

2 The special reference to Brāhmanas in this edict shows Aśoka's faith in the Brahmanical *dharma*

3. In the centuries preceding the Christian era, *śramana* refers not to Buddhists but to the orthodox ascetics of the Brahmanical fold

4 The *dharma* preached is a replica of Hindu law of Sanātana Dharma.

5 *dharmavijaya* does not mean conquest by morality but only a righteous war as distinguished from *asura-* and *lobha-vijaya*

109 DIKSHITAR, V R R "An Intriguing Statement in Aśokan Inscriptions" K V Rangaswami Iyengar Commemoration Vol pp 25-30 Benares 1940

The statement in question occurs in the 1st Minor Rock edict "Thus this inscription is yet another evidence to establish that Aśoka was not a Buddhist"

110 DIKSHITAR, V R R "The Kośar Their Place in South Indian History (A Summary)" Proc Trans 6th AIOC pp 217-18 Patna 1930

Satyaputra Kingdom was the Tulu or Tuluva land of which the present Manglore was possibly the centre

111 DIKSHITAR, V R R "Who were the Satiyaputras?" IC 1 493-96 1934-35

Satiyaputra = Kośa-nāḍu (Kośar) of the Silappadikaram = Ancient Tuḷuva (modern South Kanara)

112 DIKSHITAR, V R R "The Satiyaputras, Sātakarṇis, Sātvatas and Nāsatyas" IC 2 549-56 1936

The proposed identification of Satiyaputras with the latter is not accepted by the author

113 EDMUNDS, Albert J Buddhist Bibliography JPTS 1902 03 28-29 (Note of 1913) Inscriptions of Aśoka

114 EDMUNDS, Albert J "Identification of Aśoka's First Buddhist Selection" JRAS 1913 385-87

"The Mahāvastu or Mahāvaggo, in its primitive form, was probably the Sermon in the Deer Park, with a little introductory matter, and may well have been the first document of Aśoka's edict of Bhābrā This is called *Vinaya-samukhamsa* (Supreme Discipline)"

115 EGGERMONT, P H L "The Date of Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII" AO 18 103-23 1940

Holding that Magas of Cyrene died between 253 and 250 B C, Alikasundara must be identified with Alexander of Epirus who died before or in the year 255 B C The Rock Edict XIII was published before or in the year 255 B C

116 ELIOT, Sir Charles Hinduism and Buddhism Vol I London 1921 Aśoka pp 254-275 (for inscriptions p 265ff) For Bhābrū edict p 290ff

"This edict does not prove that Aśoka had before him in the form which we know the Dīgha and other works cited But the most cautious logic must admit that there was a collection of the Buddha's sayings to which he could appeal and that if most of his references to this collection can be identified in our Piṭakas, then the major part of these Piṭakas is probably identical in substance (not necessarily verbally) with the collection of sayings known to Asoka"

117 *EUKUCHI, Kanji "Samgham upagate Kō (Study on the Phrase samgham upagate. In Japanese) Kaigai Bukkyō Jijō (Buddhism Abroad) IV No 4 pp 11-16 Tōkyō 1937

The author is inclined to adopt the interpretation which equates the meaning of this phrase to bhikhugatika in the Mahāvagga See ABIA 1937 No 264

118 FAZY, M Robert "Sur une Eclipse du Temps d'Açoka(?)" JA. Tom 217 135-36 1930 See below Jayaswal No 186

119 FLEET, J F "Facsimiles of the Inscriptions of Aśoka" IA 13.304-6 1884 Allahabad and Delhi Pillars

120 FLEET, J F "The Sahasrām, Rūpnātha, etc Edict of Aśoka" JRAS 1903 829 A letter to Prof Rhys Davids The edict is dated 256th year after the death of Buddha and 38 years after the *abhiṣeka* of Aśoka

121 FLEET, J F "The Date of Buddha's Death, as Determined by a Record of Aśoka" (to be continued) JRAS 1904 1-26

The record in question is the Minor Rock Edict which is discussed in full *Vyūtha*, *vyuṭha* and *vivutha* denote Buddha according to the author and the No 256 refers to the years elapsed since his Wanderings The article refers to all earlier views expressed on the subject

122 FLEET, J F "The Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, etc Edict of Aśoka" JRAS 1904 355 A Short Note

The Edict endorses the statement of the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa that Aśoka reigned for 37 years

123 FLEET, J F "Epigraphic Researches in Mysore" JRAS 1905 304 Notice of the Siddāpur, Brahmagiri and Jaṭinga-Rāmeśvara version

124 FLEET, J F "The Meaning of Adhakosiya in the Seventh Pillar-Edict of Aśoka" JRAS 1906 401-17

aḍhakosiya = at a distance of eight kōs The article also discusses some other words as *aṁbāvaḍikyā* and *nimsiḍhiyā*

125 FLEET, J F "The Last Edict of Aśoka" JRAS 1908 811-22 Discussion on the last part of the Third Rock Edict and the Minor Rock Edict The No 256 denotes the number of years elapsed since the death of Buddha

126 FLEET, J F "The Rummindei Inscription" JRAS 1908 823 *Vigaḍa* = brick

127 FLEET, J F "The Rumindei Inscription and the Conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism" JRAS 1908 471-98

The author concedes that Aśoka was a convert to Buddhism but remarks that the object of his edicts was "not to propagate Buddhism or any particular religion, but to proclaim the determination of Aśoka to govern his kingdom righteously and kindly in accordance with the duty of pious kings"

128 FLEET, J F "Udbalika and Pranayakriya" JRAS 1909 760-62 *ubalika-* = Sk *udbalika-* The word has nothing to do with *ubāri* (cf. Lyall's note No 217 below) which comes from Sk *ud* + √*vṛ*

129 FLEET, J F "The Last Words of Aśoka". JRAS 1909 981-1016 JRAS 1910 1301-08 JRAS 1913 655-58

Notes on the MRE especially from the view point of determining the significance of the No 256 which, in the author's opinion, denotes the number of years elapsed since the death of Buddha The first article of the Series (JRAS 1909) also gives the Text and Translation of the Rupnāth Edict

JRAS 1910 The author gives up his earlier opinion and accepts that of F W Thomas The number 256 represents the number of days during which Aśoka was away as a recluse

JRAS 1913 Summary of his article in JRAS 1911 (see below No 131) After reigning for 37 years Aśoka abdicated and passed into religious retirement on the hill of Suvarṇagiri

130 **Fleet**, J F "Remarks on Hultzsch's Second Note on the Rupnath Edict" JRAS 1910 146-49 The meanings suggested by Hultzsch (see below No 159) are not acceptable to the author

131 **Fleet**, J F "The 256 Nights of Asoka" JRAS 1911 1091-1112 Criticism of Lévi's article 'vyuthena 256' (see below No 212)

132 **Fleet**, J F "Archaeological Work in Hyderabad, Deccan" JRAS 1916 572-74 Review on H Krishna Sastri's monograph on Maski Edict (see below No 303)

133 **Franke**, R Otto "Zu Açoka's Saulen-Edicten' VOJ 9 333-50 1895 Various Linguistic Notes

134 ***Franke**, R O "Zu Açoka's Felsen-Edicten ' Nachr der Konigl Gesellsch d Wissensch zu Gottingen 1895

135 **Franke**, R O Pāli und Sanskrit Strassburg 1902 For Aśokan Bibliography see pp 1-5

136 **Ghatage**, A M "Groups of Two Mutes in Middle Indo-Aryan" JUB 14(N S) 52-54, 1945 Consideration of the dialectal treatment of the clusters *-tv-*, *-tm-*, and *dv* in Aśokan inscriptions

137 * **Ghosh**, A "The Kosam Inscription of Aśoka" JUB 3 pts 1|4 This reference is given in ABIA Vol 10 1935 No 276 As I have not been able to trace it up I think the reference is mistaken I regret my inability to correct it

138 **Ghosh**, Miss Bhramara "Did Not Yavana Denote Persian even before the Second Century A D ?" IC 1 519-21 1935 It gives the view of Dr E J Thomas viz that 'yavana' in Asokan Inscriptions means 'the Persians' rather than 'the Greeks' (See below No 385)

139 **Ghoss**, M "Religion of Aśoka" Proc Trans 2nd AIOC pp 553-58 Calcutta 1922

"Thus it appears that after the conquest of Kalinga in the ninth year of his reign and before his 14th year he was a staunch follower of Ājīvika party of the Nigganatha Community and between his 14th and 30th year he was vacillating between his faith in the Ājīvika sect and the Buddhist religion Further from the 21st year till his death he was a staunch adherent of the Buddhist faith '

140 **Ghosal**, U N "On Some Points Relating to the Maurya Administrative System" IHQ 6 423-35 , 614-27 1930

The author discusses several classes of governors mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka and Rudrasena, further the authenticity of the Buddhist tradition of Aśoka's loss of sovereignty and the significance of the Pillar Edict IV

141 GOPAL, M H "The Date of Aśoka's Rock-Edicts", IA 56.27-29 1927 Determining the internal chronology of various edicts. The author refutes Dr Bhandarkar's plea that all Rock-Edicts, whether principal or minor, were engraved after the Pillar-Edicts.

142. GRIERSON, G A "The Inscriptions of Piyadasi." Translated from the French of É. Senart by and Revised by the Author.

(a) IA 17 303-07 1888 Ch II The Column Edicts General description Text, Translation and Notes on the first and the second edict.

(b) IA 17 1-9 1889 Third and Fourth (Pillar) Edicts Text, Translation and Notes

(c) IA 18 73-80 1889 Fifth (Pillar) Edict Text, Translation and and Notes

(d) IA 18 105-08 1889 Sixth (Pillar) Edict Text, Translation and Notes

(e) IA 18 300 9 1889 Seventh and Eighth (Pillar) Edict. The Queen's Edict at Allahabad Text, Translation and Notes. Kausambi Edict Text (reproduced from Cunningham's Ins of Aśoka CII Vol I (old edn)

(f) IA 19 82 102 1890 Ch III The Detached Rock Edicts 1 The edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada Text, Translation and Notes

(g) IA 20 154-170 1891 Ch III The Detached Rock Edicts
2 The Edicts of Sahasram, Rupnath, Bairat
3 The Edict of Bhabra
4 The Inscriptions of the Barabar Caves Text, Translation and Notes

(h) IA 20 229-66 1891 Ch IV The Author and the Language of the Inscriptions Part I "It is certain that Piyadasi was a declared adherent of Buddhism" (p 245) His conversion pp 246-9, 257-66 His administration pp 249-55

(i) IA 21 1-13, 85-92 101-16, 1892 Ch IV Part II The Language. 1 The Grammar of the Inscriptions

(j) IA 21 145-55, 171-77 1892 Ch IV Part II The Language 2 The General Character of the Language, Its Historical Position

(k) IA 21.203-10, 243-50, 258-76 1892 Ch V The Language of the Edicts and the Linguistic History of India
Part I The Chronology of the Inscriptions
II Mixed Sanskrit and Classical Sanskrit
III Monumental Literary Prakrit.
IV Conclusion.

143 GRIERSON, G A "M E Senart's Notes d'Epigraphie Indienne" IA. 19.43-44 1890.

A Book Notice on the papers republished from JA containing Senart's observations on the Piyadasi inscriptions at Shāhbāz Garhī, Mānserā and Girnār.

144 * GRIERSON, G A "On the condition of Açoka Inscriptions in India". Tenth Congress Pt 2, pp. 145-150 1894.

145 GRIERSON, G A "Sanskrit as a Spoken Language". A discussion on Prof Rapson's essay on the subject. JRAS 1904 477-79

The author points out some similarities between the Shāhbāzgarhī dialect and the Paiśācī Pkt and the Dard languages of to-day

146 GRIERSON, G A. "Linguistic Relationship of the Shahabazgarhi Inscription". JRAS 1904 725-31

Phonetic parallelism between "Dard" and Shahabazgarhi

147. GRIERSON, G. A "Aḍhakosiya' JRAS 1906 693 Dr Fleet's translation of *aḍha* by 'eight' (see above No 124) is borne out by the tradition of Magadha

148 GRIERSON, G A "Yaska's Datra Shahabazgarhi and Mansehra Phonetics" JRAS 1913 682-83

"These examples (from modern Pisāca languages regarding the metathesis of *r*) seem to me to throw grave doubts on the common assumption that in the Shahabazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions such words as *dhrama-draśana* are merely graphical methods of representing *dharma*, *darśana* "

149 GRIERSON G A "Shāhbāzgarhī 'utnānam', Śaurasēni Locative in 'e'" JAOS 42 211 12 1922

Shāhbāzgarhī *uthānam* is to be referred to the ancestor of Dardic, rather than to Śaurasenī influence

150. *HANADA, Kaname "Aśoka-Ōkoku to sono Shūkyō-seisaku" (The Asokan Kingdom and its Religious Policy In Japanese) Bukkyō 2 96-103

On the relation between Aśoka's rule and Buddhism See ABIA 1936 No 419

151 HARDY, E "On a Passage in the Bhabra Edict" JRAS 1901 311 15 An explanatory note on "*e cu kho bhamte alahāmi hakāṃ*[-]*tavitave*"

152 HARDY, E "The Bhabra Edict" JRAS 1901 577 Accepts the reading *tam vaṭave* instead of *tavitave* (see above No 151)

153 *HARDY, E Konig Aśoka Mainz 1902

"A popular account of the reign on traditional lines, with incidental discussion of the inscriptions" (Smith, Aśoka, p 202).

154 HERAS, H "Aśoka's Dharma and Religion" QJMS 17 255-76 1927 "Aśoka remained Hindu and Brahmanical till the end of his days"

155. HERZFELD, E "A New Aśokan Inscription from Taxila" EI 19 251-53 1928 For Facsimile cf Ann Rep ASI 1914-15 25ff

The surviving slab gives a fragmentary inscription in Armaic script and language Text in Hebrew and Latin characters and Notes. Dr Herzfeld points out in a letter to Sir John Marshall that "the inscription in question contains twice the words *mārāna Priyadars* . from which it may be concluded to be a record of Aśoka-Priyadarśin."

156 HODGSON, B. H. "Notice of Some Ancient Inscriptions in the Characters of the Allahabad Column". JASB 3 481-83 1834 Notice of the Radhiah and Mathiah Pillar inscriptions.

157 HULTZSCH, E "A Note on the Bhabra Edict" JRAS 1909 727-28 Two slight corrections—linguistic and palaeographic

158 HULTZSCH, E "A Note on the Rupnath Edict" JRAS 1909 728-30 The No 256 marks the number of years elapsed since the renunciation of Buddha The Rūpnāth edict would fall in about B C 254 Identification of *vivāsa* with Pāli *abhimkkhamanam* and *pabbajjā*

159 HULTZSCH, E "A Second Note on the Rupnath Edict" JRAS 1910 142-46 Following Fleet the meaning of 256 (cf above No 129) is given up by the author Meanings of *sata* and *chavachare* are suggested

160 HULTZSCH, E "A Third Note on the Rupnath Edict" JRAS 1910 1308-11 Thomas' view that 256 is the number of nights is accepted Discussion on a few minor points and revised translation of the Rūpnāth text

161 HULTZSCH, E "The Sanchi Edict of Aśoka" JRAS 1911 167-69 Text and Translation

162 HULTZSCH, E "Aśoka's Fourth Rock Edict" JRAS 1911 785-88 Meaning of lines 2-4

163 HULTZSCH, E "A Second Note on the Bhabra Edict" JRAS 1911 1113-14 Instances of clusters with *r*, a conjectural restoration of the Queen's Edict at Allahabad

164 HULTZSCH, E "A Fourth Note on the Rupnath Edict" JRAS 1911 1114-17 Discussion on some words like *deva, pakamati*, etc

165 HULTZSCH, E "The Rupnath and Sarnath Edicts of Aśoka" JRAS 1912 1053-59 Discussion on some ambiguous words and passages

166 HULTZSCH, E "Asoka's Fourth Rock Edict and his Minor Rock Edicts" JRAS 1913 651-53

His earlier view (cf No 162) regarding *vimāna-darsanā* rejected and that of D R Bhandarkar (see No 23 above) accepted, consequent new light on the mingling of gods with men in the Rūpnāth Edict

167 HULTZSCH, E "New Readings in Aśoka's Rock-Edicts" JRAS 1913 653-55 Some readings are suggested in the Shahabazgarhi and Kalsi versions

168 HULTZSCH, E "Ginger" JRAS 1914 93-97 *nipista* < *nipishta* "written"

169 HULTZSCH, E "The Date of Aśoka" JRAS 1914 943-51

Aśoka was crowned in B C 264 In the end the author gives a list of the regnal dates mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions together with the corresponding B C year

170 HULTZSCH, E "Ein Kürzlich entdecktes Edict des Konig's Aśoka" ZDMG 70 539-41 1916 Text and Trans. of the Maski Edict

171 HULTZSCH, E Inscriptions of Aśoka CII Vol I (New Edition) Oxford 1925

Reviews

J Charpentier JRAS 1926 137-39

R L Turner, BSOS 4 362-65 1926

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M V QJMS 16 297f

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172 INDRAJI, Bhagawanlal "The Inscriptions of Aśoka" IA 10 105-09 1881
Transcripts of the first Rock Edict (at Girnar, Kalsi and Kapura-di-garhi versions Sanskrit and English Trans with palaeographic notes.

173 INDRAJI, Bhagawanlal "Antiquarian Remains at Sopârâ and Padana" JBBRAS 15 273-328 1882. For Aśokan Rock Edicts see pp 282-88

174 JACKSON, V H "Notes on the Barābar Hills" JBORS 12 49-52 1926 An effort to decipher Aśokan Inscriptions

175 JACOB, L G and WESTERGAARD, N L "Copy of the Aśoka Inscriptions at Girnar" JBBRAS 1 257-58 1843

176 JACOB, Le Grand "Corrections of Sundry Errors in the Lithographed Copy of the Girnar Aśoka Inscriptions published in No V of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society" JBBRAS 2 410 1847

177 JAIN, K P "Aśoka and Jainism" Jaina Antiquary 5 53-60, 81-88 1939, 6 9-16, 43-50 1940, 7 21-25 1941
Aśoka had faith not in Buddhism but in Jainism " he composed his religious code mainly based on Jaina dogmas and betraying Jaina spirit from beginning to the end"

178 JAYASWAL, K P "The "The Rock Edict VI of Aśoka" IA 42 282-84 1913
Notes on *nijhati, parisā, mukhato* Trans. of lines 5 7

179 JAYASWAL, K P "Proclamations of Aśoka, with a Revised Translation" Modern Review 1915 (Jan) 81-85 Text, Trans and Remarks on Sections (Edicts) I-VII

180 JAYASWAL, K P "Notes on Aśoka's Inscriptions" JBORS 4 144-47 1918
Notes on words '*anubandha*', '*kritabhikara*' and '*mangala*'

181 JAYASWAL, K P "The Terms 'Anusamyāna', 'Rājukas' and 'Former Kings' in Aśoka's Inscriptions" JBORS 4 36-43 1918 Explanatory Notes.

182 JAYASWAL, K P "The Arthaśāstra Explains" IA 47 50-56 1918.
No. 4 "Thus saith Priyadarsi" pp 51-52 Aśoka's inscriptions are proclamations and not edicts
No 5 vinīta of Aśoka's Inscriptions p 53 *vinīta* = *vinaya* or military exercise
No 6 vracha of Aśoka's inscriptions pp 53-54 *vracha* = the royal stables for horses, mules, bullocks etc
No 7 Vacha-Bhūmikas of Aśoka pp 54-55 They were officers of the ecclesiastical service living and working amongst the wandering population on the frontiers

183. JAYASWAL, K. P "Notes on Aśoka Inscriptions, The Term Ashashu in Rock Series XIII". IA 47 297. 1918 *Ashasku*, a place name = Asia.

184 JAYASWAL, K. P "Evidence of an Aśokan Pillar at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa" IA. 58.218-19 1929. Information about the pillar.

185 JAYASWAL, K. P "Notes on Aśoka's Inscriptions" IA. 59 18 1930. 1 *eka chā*, 2 *Dhammalipi*.

186. JAYASWAL, K. P "An Exact Date in the Reign of Aśoka" JBORS. 17 400 1931.

A Summary of M. Robert Fazy's paper (see above No 118) 4th May 248 B C as the exact date for the redistribution of the Buddha's remains by Aśoka

187. JAYASWAL, K P. "Places and Peoples in Aśoka's Inscriptions" IA. 62 121-33 1933

I Aśoka's Pāladas and Amdhras and the so-called Rāja-Visaya. Pāladas (Sk Pāradas) were in Afghānistān, Amdhras were their neighbours, *rāja-viṣaya* to be read as *a-rāja-viṣaya*

II Āparamta, not Aparāṁta

III Aśoka's Āparāmtā ?

IV Aśoka's Republicans

V Aśoka's International Conquest by Dharma and his so-called "*Ashashu*" Correctly *Ashurshu* = "in Syria"

188 JAYASWAL, K P "Proclamation of Aśoka as a Buddhist, and his Jambu dvīpa" IA 62 167-71 1933

(a) Explanation of the phrase 'gods made mingled with men'

(b) Jambudvīpa (confined to Asia)

"In this (the Rūpnāth Series of Proclamation) he issues his proclamation as an 'open Buddhist (*prakāsa Śake*, Maski, *Budha Śake*) Also cf Author's Hindu Polity, ii 45

189 JAYASWAL, K P "Yerragudi Minor Proclamation" IHQ 9 583 1933 A few readings and notes

190 JNYANI, Sivadatta "Kucha Prāchīna Lēkh" (In Hindi) BVP 1 No 6 44-45 Describes the Maski, Kopbal and Yerragudi Edicts of Aśoka

191 *JOHANSSON Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi Redaktion der vierzehn Edikte des Königs Açōka (Tiré des Actes du 8e Congrès International des Orientalists tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania) Part I, Leide, 1892 Part II, Upasala, 1894

192 JOUVEAU-DEBREUIL, G Histoire Ancienne Du Deccan Revue Histoire De L'Inde Francaise Vol 3 219-349 1919 Introduction Chap 1 Aśoka

193. KAYE, G R "The Aśoka Numerals" IA 40 55-58 1911

194 *KERN, H Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenstukken van Açoka den Buddhist pp. 31-107 are devoted to a series of critical and grammatical remarks on the Rock and Pillar Edicts, to the presentation of corrected text and revised trans (into Sanskrit and Dutch) and concluding remarks where he says "the king in his eleventh year went over to Buddhism He was a zealous Buddhist",

195 KERN, H "Versions of some of the Aśoka Inscriptions" IA. 5 257-76 1876. (Translated from the Dutch (see above No 194) by the Rev Adam Milroy and a few additions by Prof Childers) Trans. of some Rock and Pillar Edicts

196 KERN, H "On the Separate Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada". JRAS. 12 (NS) 379-94 1880 Text. Trans (into Sk and Engl) and Notes

197 KERN, H Der Buddhismus und Seine Geschichte in Indien Leipzig. 1882 (1st vol), 1884 (2nd vol.)

Regierungszeit des Açoka Legenden über seine Jugendung Bekehrung, seine Edicts, romantische Berichte über seine letzten Lebensjahre Vol II 368-404

198 KERN, H Manual of Indian Buddhism 1898 For Reign of Aśoka see pp 112-16 Year 256 as a date of the Lord's Parinirvāna (p 115)

199 KIELHORN, F "Bhagavat, Tatrabhavat and Devānāmpriya" JRAS 1908 502-05 The meaning mūrkha assigned to Devānāmpriya

200 *KIMUR, N "Indo-Shisōkai e eikyōshitaru Aiku-ō no Shūlkyō-undō" (King Aśoka's Religious Movement which influenced Indian Thought In Japanese) Bukk. no shom Tokyō 1935 pp 427-72

"And the principal point which I want to discuss here may be summarized as follows The religious and philosophical thoughts which owed their origin and development to two kinds of Indian Aryans (i e the Vedic and non-Vedic Aryans) had been opposed to and at variance with each other till the time of king Aśoka But under the influence of the religious movement started by king Aśoka and essentially hinging on Buddhism, the thought-systems of both kinds of Indo-Aryans were reconciled with each other and fused into one, and there sprang up a new religious movement The result was the so-called Hinduism, Vaiṣnavism, Śaivism, Śakti-worship etc" (p 427) See ABIA 1935 No 424

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204 KRISHNASWAMY, C S and GHOSH, Amalananda "A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Aśoka" JRAS 1935. 697-706 The pillar was transposed neither by Firūz Shāh (Cunningham) nor by Akbar (Hultzsch) but was set up by Aśoka himself at Allahabad or was removed by Samudra gupta from Kauśāmbī

205 LADDU, T K "A Note on Hultzsch's Fourth Note on the Rūpnāth Edict" JRAS 1911 1117-19. Notes on *deva* and *mumsa*

206. LASSEN, C Indische Alterthumskunde (Zweiter Band) For 'Açoka's Inschriften' see pp. 215-24

207. LATHAM, R G. "On the Date and Personality of Priyadarsi" JRAS. 17. 273-85. 1860. A whimsical attempt to identify Priyadarśin with Phrahate.

208 LAW, B C "Did Aśoka become a Bhikkhu?" IC 1 123-24 1934 Aśoka was not formally initiated but assumed the condition of a member of the saṅgha on his own initiative

209 LAW, B C "Importance of the Bhābrū Edict" IC 1 130-33 1934 Important due to reference to seven selections from a collection of Buddha's words

210 LEUMAN, E "Das Bhabra Edict des Konigs Asoka" ZII 2 316-17 1923 Text and Trans

211 LÉVI, Sylvain. "Notes sur Diverses Inscriptions de Piyadasi" JA Ser 9 tom 7, pp 460-85 1896

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212 LÉVI, Sylvain "Vyuthena 256" JA Ser 10 tom 17 119 26 1911 Explanation as to why the number of nights mentioned in the Minor Rock Edict is exactly 256

213 LUDERS, H "The lingual *la* in the Northern Brahmi Script" JRAS 1911 1081-89 For *ḷa* in Asokan Inscriptions see pp 1086-88.

214 LUDERS, H "Epigraphische Beitrage" SPAW 1913 988-1028

III Das Vierte Säulenedict des Asoka Text Trans and an exhaustive treatment of the edict

215 LUDERS, H "Epigraphische Beitrage" SPAW 1914 831-68 IV Zu den Felsen-und Saulenedikten des Aśoka Various explanatory notes

216 LUDERS, H "Zu den Aśoka-Inschriften" (Beitrag zur Festchrift für E Hultzsch) ZII 5 251-64 1927 Notes on *no mina, duāhale*

217 LYALL, C J "Ubalike = ubārī" JRAS, 1908 850 51 *ubārī* in the province of Bundelkhaṇḍ means an estate held on a quit-rent at something less than the full assessment

218 MACPHAIL J M Aśoka London and Calcutta 1908

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K Seidenstücker z f Buddh 1928 133f

Contents Ch 2 Aśoka, the Monarch pp 17-28

Ch 4 Aśoka, the Missionary pp 41-64

Ch 5 Asoka, the Scribe pp 65-77

Chs 4-5 deal with Asokan Edicts The author believes that Aśoka was a convert Buddhist

219 MAJUMDAR, Bhavatosh "Symbology of the Aśoka Pillar Capital, Sāranāth" IC. 2 160-63 1935

220 MAJUMDAR, N. G "samāja" IA 47 221-23 1918 Meaning of second *samāja* = theatrical performance.

221. MAJUMDAR, S. N See above D R Bhandarkar, No 26

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223 MARSHALL, Sir John. Guide to Taxila Calcutta. 1918. pp. 75-76. Description of the Armaic inscription (see No 155 above).

224 MASSON, C "Narrative of an Excursion from Peshâwar to Shâh-Bâz Ghari" JRAS 8.293-302 1846 General information of the Shāhabāzgarhī Rock

225 MEHENDALE, M A "Aśokāce Śilālekha va tatkālīna samāja (Aśoka's Inscriptions and the Contemporary Society—In Marathi) Chitramaya Jagat, November 1941

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227 MICHELSON, T Notes on the Pillar-Edicts of Asoka" IF 23 219-71 1908-09

1 Investigation of the mutual relations of the dialects of the Pillar Edicts

2 *munisā*, 3 *cu*, 4 *mā*, 5 *palibhasayisam*, 6 *mukha-*, 7 *gevaya-*, 8 *ambākipilikā*, 9 *āsinava*, 10 *kho*

228 MICHELSON, T "The Interrelation of the Dialects of the Fourteen Edicts of Aśoka I General Introduction and the Dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehra Redactions" JAOS 30 77-93 1909-10

229 MICHELSON, T "The Interrelation of the Dialects of the Fourteen Edicts of Aśoka 2 The Dialect of the Girnar Redaction" JAOS 31 223-50 1911

230 MICHELSON, T "The Etymology of the Girnar word Petenika IF 24 52 55 1909 Peteṇika- > *Pāitraiaṇika-, a vṛddhi derivative adjective in *-ika-* from *pitraiana-* (= A compound of Indic *pitṛ-* (Sk *pitṛ*) and *aiana-* (Sk *ayana*)

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232 MICHELSON, T "The Alleged Aśokan word 'lukṣa'" IF 28 204 1911 The word does not exist at all

233 MICHELSON, T "The Alleged Change of Indo-European tst(h) to st(h) Aśokan equivalent of Sk 'utthāna'" IF 29 222-26 1911-12

234 MICHELSON, T "Once More on Shāhbāzgarhi uthanaṁ" JAOS 41 460-61 1921 Shāhbāz *uthanaṁ* is a true native word (See above No 233 and Grierson, G A No 149)

235 MICHELSON, T "Aśokan Notes" JAOS 36.205-12 1917

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240 MITRA, S N ' 'vinaya-Samukase' in Asoka's Bhabru Edict Its Identification' JDL Un Cal 20 1 7 1930 It is identified with Atthavasavagga in the Anguttara Nikāya

241 MITRA, S N "The Maṅgalasutta and the Rock Edicts of Asoka" Proc Trans 2nd AIOC p xcviii, No 8, Calcutta 1922 The Paper is not published

242 MITRA, S N "The Lumbini Pilgrimage Recorded in Two Inscriptions" IHQ 5 728-53 1929

Mr Mitra mainly points out that the Kapilesvara Stone copy is no forgery Incidentally he discusses several problems in connection with the Rummindei inscription Text and Trans of the Rummindei inscription

243 MITRA, S N Notes on Asoka Rescripts' IHQ 7 193-95 , 657 1931
(1) *alam capalam samādapayitave* (2) *etadathā*

244 MITRA S N 'Notes on Asoka-Rescripts' IHQ 8 377 79 , 591 94 1932
(1) *duāhale hi atileke* , (2) *dusampatipādaye*

245 MITRA, S N ' The Queen s Donation Edict IHQ 7 458 63 1931 Text, Trans and Notes

246 MITRA S N Identity of Piyadasi and Asoka ' IC 1 120-21 1934 Piyadasi was the earlier name of Asoka before he ascended the throne

247 MITRA, S N 'The Rājukas and Prādesikas of Asoka in Relation to the Yutas IC 1 308 11 1934

yuta is a generic term *Rājuka* and *Prādesika* form a classification or description of *yuta*

248 MOOKERJI, R K Asoka (Gaekwad Lectures) London 1928

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V R R Dikshitar ABORI 10 169-71

L D Barnett JARS 1929 622f

F J Richards Man 1929 396

H Heras JBHS 2 164-67

W Stede OLZ 1930 923f

K R Srinivasa Iyengar Federated India 8th April 1931

On the question of Asoka's religion the author opines that though his personal religion was Buddhism his public religion—'The Dharma of the edicts is not any particular Dharma or religious system, but the moral law independent of any caste or creed, the *sāra* or essence of all religions "

Ch VII gives the annotated trans and Ch VIII the text of all Aśokan Inscriptions

249 MOOKERJI, R K "Parallelisms between Aśoka's Edicts and Kautilya's Arthaśāstra" Proc Trans 5th AIOC pp 329-47 Lahore, 1928
The resemblance extends both to words and ideas, to technical terms as well as institutions peculiar to Mauryan Polity

250 MOOKERJI, R K "The Authenticity of Aśokan Legends" JUPHS 4 15-25 1930
"It will appear on a close and comparative study of both these sources, the legends and the inscriptions of Aśoka, that both must be used, like a pair of scissors, for the construction of a complete Aśokan History" (p 15) The legends discussed are those contained in the northern text of Divyāvadāna and the southern text of Mahāvamsa

251 MOOKERJI, R K "Aśokan Chronology" Proc Trans 6th AIOC pp 17-24 Patna 1930
"A close and comparative study of the Aśokan legends and Inscriptions will yield a fairly complete set of dates for the important events in the life and reign of Asoka'

252 MOOKERJI, R K "An Aśokan Inscription Reconsidered' IC 1 65-69 1934
Passages from Minor Rock Edict

253 MOOKERJI, R K "A Proposed Interpretation of an Aśokan Inscription' Dr K B Pathak Comm Vol pp 275-79 1934
silāvigada- > *śilā-vigraha* = image of stone representing Buddha s Nativity
bhī, a separate word, allied to the Hindi word *bhi* = also

254 MUIR, J "Prof H Kern's Dissertation on the Era of Buddha and the Asoka Inscriptions" IA 3 77-81 1874
A review of H Kern s Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten (see above No 194)

255 MUKHERJI, P C A Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal Calcutta 1901 Ch IV Rummin-Dei Description of the pillar (p 34) Trans of the Inscription (p 35)

256 MULLER, Max Dhammapada (Part I) SBE 10 1881 (Sec edn) 1898 Introduction p 41 (1st edn) p 49 (2nd edn)
The author upholds Buhler's view regarding the authorship of the Minor Rock Edicts and his meaning of 256 as the number of years elapsed after Buddha's Nirvāna

257 MULVANY, C M "Aśoka Pillar-Edict V—Simale Samdake" IA 37 21 1908
simale = Hindi "surā, a small beetle"
samḍake = "sāndā, an animal like a lizard"

258 NARAIN Rao, C "New Aśokan Edicts Discovered at Yerragudi" Proc Trans 6th AIOC Patna 1930 (The paper is not published)

259 NARAYAN Rao, C "A Note on 'Suvarnnagiri'" NIA 1 596-97 1938-39
Suvarnnagiri of Mysore edicts is the Dzonnagiri, the site of the newly discovered Yerrāguḍi edicts

260 NEUMANN, K E "Das Gleichniss von Rūpnāth" VOJ 10 101-02 1896 An explanatory note

261 NEUMANN, K E "Piyadasi's Edikte und das Suttapiṭakam" VOJ 11 156-60 1897 Some parallelisms are pointed out.

262 NEUMANN, K. E. "Zur Weihinschrift von Paḍeria" ZDMG 68 721-22 1914
Notes on *ubalike* and *aṭhabhāgiye*

263 NORRIS, E "On the Kapur-di-Giri Rock-Inscription" JRAS 8 303-14 1846
General information and an attempt to decipher some parts of the inscription
Note by the Director pp 308-14 Some linguistic notes

264 OLDENBERG, H "Die Datirung der neuen angeblichen Asoka Inschriften" ZDMG 35 473-76 1881
Discussion on Minor Rock Edicts and the meaning of 256 as the number of the Buddhas who had departed into Nirvāṇa

265 OLDENBERG, H "Buddhistich Studien' ZDMG 52 613-94 1898
Discussion on Bairāṭ-Bhābrā Edict pp 632-40 Criticism on Minayeff's view (cf No 236 above)

266 OLDENBERG, H The Vinayapiṭaka Vol I The Mahāvagga Oxford 1929 p xl, note 1 Some identifications of the passages in the Bhābrū edict are suggested

267 OLDHAM, C E A W "Recent Discoveries of Edicts of Asoka" IA 61 38-40 1932 Information about the Kopbal inscriptions in the Nizam's Dominions

268 PAI M Govind "Sātiyaputra of Asoka's Edict II' Dr S K Aiyangar Comm Vol pp 33-47 1936
"If however his (i e Asoka's) Aparānta stopped with Goa, then Sātiyaputra, though thus identical with Śāntika, would seem to have been used in the larger sense as comprising both Haihaya and Śāntika At all events Sātiyaputra which so aptly equates itself with Śāntika, did include South Kanara"

269 PERRY, Erskine. 'Account of the Great Hindu Monarch Asoka, Chiefly from the Indische Alterthumskunde of Prof C Lassen' JBBRAS 3 149-78 1847-49 See above No 206

270 PETERSON, P A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions Bhavanagar 'Rock Inscriptions of King Asoka's Edicts at Junāgaḍha" pp 1-16 Text and Trans (into Sk and Eng) with Plates

271 * PISCHEL, R "Die Inschrift von Paḍeriyā' SPAW 1903 724ff His results are given by Smith (see below No 364)

272 POSTANS 'Notes of a Journey to Girnar in the Province of Kathyawâr, for the Purpose of Copying the Ancient Inscriptions upon the Rock near that Place" JASB 7 865-87 1838

273 *POUSSIN de la Vallée Boudhisme, Études et Materiaux (Mémoires Acad Belgique 55 1898) p 32f
Aśoka in the Bhābrā edict does not allude to a definite canon The titles merely prove the antiquity of the Sūtras and Vinayas connected with the Pāli texts

274 POUSSIN, L de la Valee. L'Inde aux Temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-Tchi Paris 1930 Ch II Les Mauryas pp 43-169 §1 Introduction Inscriptions, Chronology, le nom de Mau iya §4 Açoka §5 Le Bouddhisme à l apoque d'Açoka §6 II *Samājas Samajjas* (p 156-57)

275 PRINSEP, J "Note on Inscription No 1 of the Allahabad Column" JASB 3 114-17 1834

276 PRINSEP, J "Note on the Mathiah Láth Inscription" JASB 3 483-87 1834

277 PRINSEP, J 'Interpretation of the Most Ancient of the Inscriptions on the Pillar Called the Lát of Feroz Shāh, near Delhi, and of the Allahabad, Radhia and Mattiah Pillar, or Lát, Inscriptions which agree therewith" Transcripts, Trans, and Notes

278 PRINSEP, J 'Facsimiles of Ancient Inscriptions' JASB 6 663ff 1837 For the inscriptions of Dasaratha in the Barabar Caves See pp 676-78

279 PRINSEP J "Further Elucidation of the Laṭ or Silāstambha Inscriptions from various sources" JASB 6 790 97 1837

280 PRINSEP, J 'Note on the Facsimiles of the various inscriptions on the ancient column at Allahabad, retaken by Captain Edward Smith, Engineers JASB 6 963-69 1937

281 PRINSEP, J "Discovery of Name of Antiochus the Great in Two of the Edicts of Asoka king of India" JASB 7 156-67 1838 Refers to the 2nd Major RE

282 PRINSEP, J "On the Edicts of Piyadasi, or Asoka, the Buddhist Monarch of India, Preserved on the Girnar Rock in the Gujarat Peninsula and on the Dhauli Rock in Cuttack, with the Discovery of Ptolemy s Name therein' JASB 7 219-82 1838 Transcripts, Trans and Remarks

283 PRINSEP, J "Examination of the Separate Edicts of the Aswastama Inscription at Dhaulî in Cuttak' JASB 7 434-56 1838 Transcripts, Trans, and Observations

284 PRZYLUSKI, J Hippokoura et Satakarni JRAS 1929 273 79 Also cf JAHRS 4 49f Sātiyaputa = Satakarni

285 *PRZYLUSKI, J 'Le Symbolisme du Pilier de Sarnath' Études d Orientalisme Linossier pp 481-98 1932 See ABIA 1932 No 252

286 PRZYLUSKI, J ' Satvant, Sātvata and Nāsatya IHQ 9 88 91 1933 Satiyaputras identified with Satvants, Sātvatas and Nāsatyas Sātiyaputra = Satakarni means son of the Mythic horse

287 RAPSON, E J Ancient India Cambridge 1914 Ch VII Maurya Empire (For Asoka and his edicts see p 104ff)

288 RAY, Nihar-Ranjan 'Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma Journ Great Ind Soc 6 99-123 1939

The Asoka Mission of Sona and Uttara Legend and History, c 250 B C pp 114-21

Aśoka s mission to Burma seems to be historical and not fabricated

289 *RICE, L Edicts of Aśoka in Mysore Bangalore 1892

290 RICE, L Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol 11 Bangalore 1903 p 1 Notice of Mysore Edicts, p 162, No 14, p 164 No 21, and p 167 No 34 Transcripts of Edicts at Siddāpūr Brahmagiri and Jaṭinga-Rāmeśvara, p 93 No 21 Trans

291 RICE, L Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions London 1909 For the contents of the Mysore group see pp 10-14 The author believes that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism from Jinism pp 12-13

292 RICE, L "The New Aśoka Edict at Maski" JRAS 1916 838-39 General information and discussion of its contents

293 SAHANI, Daya Ram "The Yerraguḍi Edicts of Asoka" Ann Rep ASI 1928-29 pp 161-67

A preliminary account of the discovery and notice of its contents It also gives the text of Minor RE

294 SAHIDULLAH, Md "The Etymologies of Kubha, Laggh Geveya, etc in the Aśokan Inscriptions" Proc Trans 2nd AIOC p xcvi, No 8 Calcutta 1923 [The paper is not published]

295 SALETORE B A "The Identification of Satiyaputa" IC 1 667-73 1935 Criticism on Dikshitar's article (see Nos 110-111 above) Tuḷuva was never called Satiyaputa in the early ages of its history The problem is still unsolved

296 SALISBURY, E E History of Buddhism A Memoir Read before the Society on May 24 1844 JAOS 79 135 1849

297 SAMADDAR, J N "The Edicts of Aśoka" The Visva Bharati Quarterly 2 239-250 Calcutta 1924 25

Study of these inscriptions from the social, political and economic points of view Incidental discussion on such words as *samāja rajuka, pradesika, anusamyāna, gananāyam, parisad* and *athabhāga*

298 SAMADDAR, J N The Glories of Magadha 2nd edn Patna 1927

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V R R Dikshitar JIH 7 279 81

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The third and the fourth Lectures deal with Asoka s Edicts. pp 71-117

(i) Social aspects of the Edicts, pp 74 85 (*Samāja* pp 82-5)

(ii) Political aspects of the Edicts pp 85 107 Discussion on such terms as *yukta, rājuka prādesika anusamyāna, parisā gananā, paṭivedaka, mahāmātra* and on Duties of a king

(iii) Economic aspects of the edicts pp 107-113 Discussion on *vaca-, uba lika , athabhāga*

299 SANKALIA, H D "Pre Vedic Times to Vijayanagara A Survey of 25 years work in ancient Indian History and Archaeology" Progress of Indic Studies (1917-1942) pp 195 238 Poona 1942 For Maurya History cf pp 203-04

300 SANKARA, K G Studies on Scholarship III Satiyaputra of Asoka's Rock-Edict, No 2 QJMS 11 283 1921 Criticism of earlier views expressed by Jayaswal, Smith, D R Bhandarkar, S K Aiyangar and others

301 SANKARA, K G "Some Problems of Indian Chronology" ABORI 12 301-61 1931 Evidence of Asokan inscriptions is taken into account pp 337-38

302 * ŚARMA, Rāmāvatāra Priyadarsi-prasastayah or Piyadasi-Inscriptions Patna 1917 A collection of Asokan inscriptions giving Sk and Eng trans

Review K P J JBORS 3 572 Discusses the word *dipi* and *nipi*

303 SASTRI, H Krishna The New Aśokan Edict of Maski Hyder Arch Ser No 1 Calcutta 1915

304 SASTRI, Haraprasad Causes of the Dismemberment of the Maurya Empire JASB 6 (N S) 259-262 Calcutta 1910

Aśoka's opposition through his edicts to Brahmanical practices and privileges was responsible for the downfall of the empire

305 SASTRI Haraprasad. "Two Eternal Cities in the Province of Bihar and Orisa" JBORS 6.23-39 Patna 1920

II Tosali identified with Dhauli (Dhauli—Dohali—Tohali—Tosali)

306 SASTRI, Hirananda The Aśokan Rock at Girnar Gaek Arch Ser II pp 1-58 Baroda 1936

Introductory remarks, Text and Trans of 14 Rock Edicts

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307 SASTRI, K A Nilkanta "Aśoka Notes" The Journ of the Ganganath Jha Research Inst 1 95-117 1943

Notes on I *vivuthe*, II Was Aśoka a Monk and a Monarch at the same time?, (The answer to the question is in the negative Aśoka might have become a Monk after he renounced the throne) IV Asoka and Ceylon (Tambapamni = Ceylon)

308 SASTRI, K A Nilakanta "Ubalike, Umbali, Unbali" IHQ 20 285 287 1944

ubalike < *ud-bali* The Dravidian forms *umbali*, *umbala* *unbali* etc are connected with *ubalike*

309 SASTRI, N Aiyaswami "Asoka's Edicts and Sagga' Journ Sri Venkatesvara Or Inst 3 87 98 1942

"Thus the idea of heavenly bliss expressed in the Edicts of Asoka is in no way incompatible with his personal faith, viz Buddhism"

310 SASTRI, Vidhushekhara Bhattacarya 'The Words vaca and vinita in the Aśoka Edict" IA 49 53-56 1920 *vaca* = 'a road', *vinita* = a vehicle"

311 * Sen, B C "Ancient Indian Inscriptions as a Source of Sistory' COJ 3 97-104 (to be continued)

312 SEN, Jyotirmay "Aśoka s Mission to Ceylon and some Connected Problems IHQ 4 667-78 1928

Mr Sen concludes that 'the date of Rock Edict XIII and consequently of the foreign missions of Aśoka falls between the 16th and the 18th year of his reign"

313 SEN, Prabodh Chandra 'The Religious Policy of Aśoka Visvabharati Quarterly 9 pt 3

"Aśoka's personal religion might have been Buddhist but so far as State policy was concerned his was an ethical religion acceptable to all creeds"

314 SEN, Sukumara "The Use of Instrumental in Middle Indo-Aryan" Proc Trans 5th AIOC Vol 1 Summaries of Papers Lahore. 1928

Some syntactical peculiarities are given Illustrations are drawn from Asokan inscriptions also

315 SEN, Sukumar "The use of the Genitive in Middle Indo-Aryan" Indian Linguistics 9 10 29 1944-45.

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316 SEN, Surendra Nath. "Survival of Some Aśokan Forms in Seventeenth Century Bengali" A Volume of Studies in Indology Presented to Prof P V Kane pp 417-19 Poona 1941

Survival of the form '*pruva*' which occurs in the Girnar, Shāhabāzgarhī and Mānsehra versions.

317 SENART, E "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi" JA Ser 7 tom 15 287-347, 479-509 1880 Introduction (pp 287-326), Ch 1 Les Quatorze édits et les édits detaches de Dhauli (pp 327-47, 479 509) Text, Trans and Notes of Re 1-3

318 SENART, E "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi" JA Sér 7 tom 16 215-67, 289-410 1880 Text, Trans and Notes on RE 4-12

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320 SENART, E "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi" JA Sér 7 tom 19 395-460 1882 Deusieme Partie Les Édits sur Colonnes Text, Trans and Notes on the PE 1 5

321 SENART, E "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi" JA Sér 7 tom 20 101ff 1882 Text, Trans and Notes on PE VI-VIII Queen's edict and the Kauśāmbī edict

322 SENART, E "Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi" JA Sér 8 tom 1 171-230 1883 Ch 3 Les Édits detachés sur Roc Text, Trans and Notes

323 SENART, E 'Étude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi' JA Ser 8 tom 3 446-498 1884

II Édits de Sahasrâm, de Rûpnâth et de Bairât pp 446-77

III Édit de Bhabra pp 478-89

IV Inscriptions des Grottes de Barâbar pp 489-493

Appendice Ambalaṭṭhikârâhulovâda sutta pp 493-98

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1 La Grammaire des Inscriptions pp 478-554

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2 Les caractères Généraux de la Langue, Sa place Historique pp 68-112 Ch 5 La Langue des Édits et L'histoire Linguistique de l Inde pp 298-368, 386-406

Appendice pp 406-415, Index pp 416-478

327 SENART, E "The Inscriptions of Piyadasi" IA 9 282-87 1880 Text and Trans of the first three edicts at Girnar, with introductory notes

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328. SENART, E "The Inscriptions of Piyadasi" IA 10 83-85 1881 Text and Trans of the fourth and the fifth edicts at Girnar

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330 SENART, E "The Inscriptions of Piyadasi" IA 10 209-11 1881 Text and Trans of the 10th to 12th edicts at Girnar

331 SENART, E "Inscriptions of Piyadasi" IA 10 269 73 1881 Text and Trans of the 13th and 14th edicts at Girnar

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335 SENART, E "Un Nouveau Fac-simile de l Inscription de Bhabra, avec une Photogravure de l' Estampage" JA Ser 8 tom 9 498 504 1887 Suggestions for a revised reading

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I À Shahbaz Garhi, à Mansera et a Girnar General information 1 Le XIIe Édits a Shahbaz Garhi et à Mansera Text and Notes 2 Les XI Premiers Édits à Shahbaz Garhi Text and Notes

338 SENART E "Notes d'Epigraphie Indienne' JA Sér 8 tom 12 311-30 1888
3 Collation des Édits de Girnar pp 311-19 Palaeographic and explanatory notes
4 Les Édits I VIII à Mansera pp 319 29 Transcript and notes
Les Édits IX-XI a Mansera pp 329 30 Transcript and Notes

339 SENART E ' Notes d Epigraphie Indienne JA Sér 8 tom 19 472 98 1892
IV Trois Nouvelles Inscriptions d Açoka Piyadasi Notes on the readings and explanation of Mysore edicts Text and trans of the Brahmagiri version

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341 Seth H C "Central Asiatic Provinces of the Maurya Empire' IHQ 13 400-17 1937

342 SETH, H C ' Chronology of Asokan Inscriptions' JIH 17 279-92 1938 An attempt to formulate the chronological order of the inscriptions

343 SETH, H C "Side Lights on Asoka the Great" ABORI 20 177-87 1938 39
Detailed arguments to substantiate his view that, ' it was only during the last ten years—and more towards the end—of his reign that he developed into an ardent Buddhist (p 180)

344 SETH, H C "Some Obscure Passages in Aśokan Inscriptions" Nagpur University Jour December 1943 pp 16-20
(1) *parisā pi yute* etc Major RE III
(2) *e cu iyam atanā pacūpagamane* etc PE VI
(3) *imam cu dhammānupaṭīpati anupaṭipajamtu ti etadathā* PE VII

345 SHAH, T L "Emperor Aśoka Dislodged" Proc Trans 5th AIOC. Lahore 1928 Vol 1 Summaries of Papers, p 217 No. 164 The paper is not published On p 163 it is stated—"The most important point arising out of discussion was whether Sandracottos could at all be identified with Aśoka there being no phonetic resemblance between the two names"

346 SHAH, T L Ancient India Vol II Baroda 1939 Part IV deals with Aśoka pp 302-05 give proofs to show that Priyadarśin followed Jainism

347 SHAH, T L Samrāṭ Priyadarśī, or the Emperor mistakenly supposed to be Aśoka, or the Jaina Emperor Samprati Baroda 1942 (In Gujarati)

Part I. Chronology, Part II Rock and Pillar inscriptions, all attributed to Saṁprati, Part III Other works of Samprati, Part IV Life of Saṁprati

Mr Shah essays to prove that the author of the numerous inscriptions was Saṁprati, grandson of Aśoka, and not Aśoka himself

348 SIDERSKY, D "Une Éclipse de Soleil au Temps d'Açoka" JA tom 220 295-297 1932

The total eclipse of the sun to which Hiuan-Tsang refers must have been the one which occurred on the 15th June 242 B C, seven years after Aśoka's pilgrimage

349 SINGH Deo, B "Tosali and Tosala" QAHS 3 41-43 1928

" It is possible to identify Tosali with modern Khijjinga in Mayurbhanj "

350 SIRCAR, D C "An Inscription of Aśoka Discovered at Yerragudi" IHQ 7 737-40 (817-20) 1931 Transcript and Translation

351 SIRCAR, D C "Yavana and Parasika" JIH 14 34-38 1935

The author disagrees with Dr E J Thomas' hypothesis that the term '*yavana*' meant the Persian military power (as consisting chiefly of Greek mercenaries) (see below No 385) Persians became acquainted with Greeks through the Ionian Colonists whom they called *yauna* (= Ionian) The Persian word *yauna* was borrowed by Indians cf Mbh XII 207-43 Yavana is only a Sanskritised form of *yauna* of which the real Pkt form is *yona* Thus *yavana* in early literature means Greeks and *Pārasika* means Persians

352 SIRCAR, D C "On Some Words in the Inscriptions of Asoka" IC 7 487-89 1941

The words that are discussed are (1) *bhāge aṃñe* in R E. VIII, (2) *ithījhakha-mahāmāta* in R E XII (3) *kaṭābhikāra* in R E V, (4) *duāhale* in separate R E. I

353 SIRCAR, D C. "Pāriṁda in the Inscriptions of Aśoka" IC 8 399-400 1942 The author feels that the philological difficulties in identifying Pāriṁda or *Pāliṁda with Pulindas are not unsurmountable

354 SIRCAR, S C "A Note on the Last Year of Aśoka" IC 11 85-86 1944

The author does not believe that Aśoka's pacifist policy was responsible for the downfall of the Mauryan Empire

355. SMITH, V A "The Birth Place of Gautama Buddha" JRAS 1897 615-21. Information about the Nigali Sagar Pillar Transcript and purport of the pillar inscription pp. 616-19

356. SMITH, V A "A Prefatory Note to Mukherji's "A Report on a tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal" Calcutta 1901 (see above No 255)

Mr Smith believes in the unity of authorship of inscriptions, but Mukherji concludes in the manifoldness of authorship (p. 2). The importance of the pillar inscription in Tarai and identity of Rummindei with Lumbini garden (pp 2-7)

357 SMITH, V A. "The Authorship of the Piyadasi Inscriptions" JRAS 1901 481-99

'To sum up, all the inscriptions prove to have been issued by and under the personal direction of, a single Buddhist emperor of India "

358 SMITH, V A, "On a Passage in the Bhabra Edict" JRAS 1901 574 The author points out that Hardy's (see above No 151) explanations are based on wrong readings

359 SMITH, V A "The Translation of devānampiyā JRAS 1901 577-78 *devānampiyā = rājāno*

360 SMITH, V A "The Identity of Piyadasi (Priyadarśin) with Aśoka Maurya, and some connected Problems" JRAS 1901 827-58

Part I The Identity of Piyadasi with Aśoka Maurya pp 827-39

Part II Kālāśoka pp 839-42 Kālāśoka of the Ceylonese chronicles is a fiction

Part III Buddhist Councils pp 842-58

361 SMITH, V A "Kusinārā, or Kuśinagara, and other Buddhist Holy Places" JRAS, 1902 139-63 For the names of Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh see p 153

362 SMITH, V A "A Chinese Asoka" IA 32 236 1903

"The Chinese case (of Hsiao Yen—6th cent A D—of the Liang dynasty of China, who was a devout Buddhist) should finally remove the doubts of the most sceptical concerning the propriety of the literal interpretation of Asoka's distinct and categorical statement that he joined the order"

363 SMITH, V A "The Meaning of Piyadasi" IA 32 265 67 1903 *Piyadasi* = His Gracious Majesty, or His Grace

364 SMITH, V A "The Rummindei Inscription, Hitherto Known as the Padariya Inscription" IA 34 1-4 1905

(1) Criticism on the nomenclature, (2) *vigaḍabhī* = flawless, (3) *aṭha bhāgiya* = with eight shares (of land)

365 SMITH, V A "Aśoka's Alleged Mission to Pegu" IA 34 180-86 1905 The silence of the edicts concerning the mission dipreves its reality

366 SMITH, V A "Unpublished Aśoka Inscription at Girnar" IA 38 80 1909 An inquiry about a possible Aśoka record near Bhimkund mentioned by C M in his article "Saurashtra and the Hill of South" Calcutta Review 1878

367 SMITH, V A "Aśôka Notes" IA 32 364-66 1903

I Mahēndra, brother of Aśoka

II. The Dharma Mahāmātras, or Censors of the Law of Piety Two modern Indian parallels to Aśoka's Dharma Mahāmātras

III Aśoka's Father-Confessor. His Father-Confessor was Upagupta, the son of Gupta

368. SMITH, V A "Aśoka Notes" IA. 34 200-03, 245-51. 1905

IV Consular Officers in India and Greece. pp 200-01

V Persian Influence on Mauryan India. pp 201-03

VI The meaning of *Sāmaṁta* in Rock Edict II p 245

VII The meaning of *cikicha* in the same edict, and revised trans of the edict. pp 246-48

VIII The Keralaputra and Satiyaputra Kingdoms pp 348-51 Satiyaputra identified with Tulu country.

369 SMITH, V A. "Aśoka Notes" IA 37 19-24 1908

IX The Third Rock Edict, discussion on the last line It contains also a Note by F W Thomas

370 SMITH, V A "Aśoka Notes" IA 38 151-59 1909

X Aśoka in Fa-hien's Travels—with notice of some discoveries near Patna

371 SMITH, V A "Aśoka Notes" IA 39 64 1910

XI The etymology of *Sāmipam* in Rock Edict II

372 SMITH, V A. "Aśoka Notes" IA. 47 48-49 1918

XII Identification of Tambapamni The author refers to the Tāmraparṇī (Tinnevelly) river in the Tinnevelly District and not to Ceylon

373 SMITH, V A The Edicts of Aśoka London 1909 Trans pp 3-41, Commentary pp 43-76

374 SMITH, V A. On the Identity of Satiyaputra observes that it is represented by the Satyamangalam region in the Coimbatore District JRAS 1919 584 footnote 1 to S K Aiyangar's paper (see above No 3) and in his Review of the Beginnings of South Indian History JRAS 1919 596-99

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Ch I The History of Aśoka (pp 11-71) " Aśoka was both monk and monarch at the same time" (p 35)

Ch III The Monuments (pp 107-148) General information

Ch IV The Rock Edicts (pp 149-204) Translation of all Edicts (page references to the 2nd edn)

376 SMITH, V A The Oxford History of India Oxford 1923 Book II, Ch 2 Aśoka Maurya and his institutions, diffusion of Buddhism. pp 93-110 For Rummindei inscription and Daśaratha's inscription see p 102 and p 117 respectively

377 SMITH, V A. Early History of India. Oxford. 1924

Ch VI Aśoka Maurya p 162ff. Appendix H The Inscriptions of Aśoka Bibliographical Note pp 180-83

Ch VII Aśoka Maurya (contd) For Aśoka's Dharmma etc cf pp 184ff

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379 STEIN, Otto "Yavanas in Early Indian Inscriptions" IC 1 343-58. 1935

"The conclusion seems to be that the term Yona in Aśoka's time has been restricted to the Western peoples outside India ... To be strict, therefore, one cannot say that Aśoka means by Yona Greeks alone, though essentially he might have thought the subject of these five kings (viz Antiochos, Ptolemaios, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander) to be Greeks"

380 SUBRAMANIAN, T N "Satiyaputra of Aśoka's Edict No 2" JRAS 1922 84-86

"I identify the Satyaputra with the Kośars of Kongunāḍu"

381 SUBRAMANIAN, T N "Petenikas of Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII" JRAS 1923 88-93

Petenika (= Sk Paithānaka) identified with the Sātavāhanas of Western India

382 SVARUP, Bishun "The Antiquity of Writing in India" JBORS 8 46-64, 99-119 1922, 9 347-52 1923 Especially Introduction, VII Formation of Brāhmī alphabet

383 THOMA, P J "The Identification of Satyaputra" JRAS 1923 pp. 411-14 Satyaputra = ruler of Satya Kingdom (probably Kolathiri) which lay towards the north of Chēraman's Kingdom (Kerala proper)

384 THOMAS, Edward "The Early Faith of Aśoka" JRAS 9 (NS) 155-234 1877

Aśoka was originally a Jain and was afterwards attracted towards the Buddhist ideals and doctrines

385 THOMAS, E J "The Question of Zoroastrian Influence on Early Buddhism" Dr Modi Memorial Vol pp 279-89 1930

Regarding the Aśokan yona the author observes, 'What conception of the Yonas, Aśoka had in his mind, is naturally not easy to prove, but it is necessary to point out that it is an entirely gratuitous assumption to hold that for Aśoka Yona meant Greek as distinct from Persian"

386 THOMAS, E J "Buddhaghosa and thee Date of Aśoka" IC 1 95-96 1935

The number of years elapsed between Buddha's death and Aśoka's Abhisheka given in Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on the Vinaya is not 228 but 218

387 THOMAS, F W "Sanskrit as a Spoken Language" JRAS 1904 460-65

" the Edicts of Aśoka represent a real speech of the time, a common parlance of the people "

ucāvaca (9th RE) may have reference to the following passage *atha khalūccāvacā janapadadharmā grāmadharmāś ca* etc. Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra i, 7 1-2

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389 THOMAS, F W "Ubalike and Yukta" JRAS. 1909 466-67

The derivation of *ubalika-* < *ud* + *bali* supported by the Arthaśāstra form *ucchulka*, the meaning of the word *yuta-* as 'officer' supported by the Arthaśāstra use

390. THOMAS, F W "Les vivāsāḥ d'Aśoka" JA. Sér 10 tom 15 507-22 1910
256 is the number of nights i e. days and nights during which Aśoka was away from his home The author also surveys all earlier efforts to determine the meaning of *vi√vas* and the No 256

391 THOMAS, F W "Rupnath Edict of Aśoka" JRAS 1912 477-81 Notes on *samānā, palakama, pakama, amisā, sāvana.*

392. THOMAS, F. W "Notes on the Edicts of Aśoka" JRAS 1914 383-95, 751-52 (1) *prādeśika* pp 383-6; (2) *mahāmātra* pp 386-7, (3) *yukta* (*yuta*) pp 387-91, (4) *athabhāgiya* pp 391-92, (5) *samāja* pp. 392-94; (6) *agni-skandha* pp 394-05, additions to his notes on *athabhāgiya* and *samāja* pp 751-52

393 THOMAS, F W "Notes on the Edicts of Aśoka" JRAS. 1915 97-112 (7) *mukha-danamukha* pp 97-99, (8) *paligodha-palibodha* pp 99-106, (9) *asvasa-visvasika* pp 106-8, (10) *samsarana* pp 109-12, (11) *prādeśika* again p 112

394 THOMAS, F W "Notes on the Edicts of Aśoka" JRAS 1916 113-23 (12) *vivasa* pp 113-19, (13) Some minor points, (i) *tam atham,* (ii) *tada tvaṃ,* (iii) *nijhati* pp 120-23

395 THOMAS, F W "Açoka, the Imperial Patron of Buddhism" CHI Ed by E J Rapson, Vol I Ch XX pp 495-513 1922
This chapter gives the general appreciation of Aśoka's rule, his family history, his ordinances and institutions, and his personality as revealed in his edicts pp 504-05 Aśoka was a Buddhist monk pp 509-10 Trans of R E IV and P E VII which are styled as 'The Testament of Açoka'

396 THOMAS, F W "Sanskrit Masculine Plurals in *-āni*" JRAS. 1924 449-50

397 THOMAS, F W "Bhāsa and Accusatives Plural Masculine in *-āni*" JRAS 1925 104-07

398 TROYER, A. "Remarks upon the Sacred Inscription of the Allahabad Pillar" JASB 3 118-23 1834

399 TURNER, R L "The Future Stem in Aśoka" BSOS 6 529-37 1930-32
In the inscriptions of Aśoka these two tendencies (viz the extension of the *-iṣyá-* suffix and its addition to a present stem) are seen further developed

400 TURNER, R L 'Aśokan vāsa- 'year'" BLSI 2 161-64 1932
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401 TURNER, R. L The Gavīmaṭh and Pālkīguṇḍu Inscriptions of Aśoka Hyderabad Arch Ser No 10 Calcutta 1932
Review
W Printz ZDMG (NS) 11 (87) 97
A. Duncan AR (NS) 30 386
C E A. W. Oldham IA 61 220-1 1932
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Description of the Find Spot & Language, Text and Trans Index of the words

402 TURNOUR, G "Further Notes on the Columns at Delhi, Allahabad Betiah, etc." JASB 6 1049-64 1937

403 VENIS, A "Some Notes on the Maurya Inscription at Sarnath" JPASB, (NS) 3 1-7 1907

No 256 refers to the year of Aśoka's coronation reckoned from the year of Buddha's Illumination Text and Trans. of the Sārnāth inscription together with notes on the Minor Pillar and Rock Edicts

404 VENKAT Rao, G "Aśoka's Dhamma (Dharma)" S K Aiyangar Comm Vol pp 252-63 1936

Aśoka was a convert to Buddhism From the time of his conversion to the end of his rule, he remained an upāsaka, with progressive zeal in the cause of his new faith"

It contains notes on *upāsaka* (pp 258-59), *saṃghe upayite* (pp 259-60), *dhamma* (pp 260-62)

405 VENKATASUBBIAH, A "Aṭhabhāgiye" IA 60 168-70, 204-07 1931 *aṭhabhā giye = aṣṭabhoga (-tējassvāmya)-bhāgī*

406 VENKATESWARA, S V "Satiyaputra in the Second Rock Edict of Aśoka" JRAS 1918 541-42, also IA. 48 24. 1919 They were a people or country with Kāñchīpura as capital

407 * VIDYALANKAR, Satyaketu Maurya Sāmrājya-kā Itihāsa (In Hindi)

408 VOGEL, J Ph "Epigraphical Discoveries at Sarnath" EI 8 166-71 1905-6 I Inscriptions of the Aśoka Pillar Text, Trans and Remarks

409 VYAS, Suryanarayana "Samrāṭ 'Aśoka' athavā 'Samprati" (In Hindi) NPP 16 1-65 Vikram Samvat 1992 (A.D 1935)

The author arrives at the astonishing conclusion that the edicts ascribed to Aśoka do not belong to him but to king "Samprati" They are again more related to Jainism than to Buddhism

410 * WALLESER, Max Das Edict von Bhabra Zur Kritik und Geschichte Leipzig 1923

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411 WALLESER, Max "Zur Deutung des Edikts von Bhabra" ZII 3 113-15 1925

412 WESTERGAARD, N C See above Jacob, L G and No 175

413 WICKREMASINGHE, M De Z "On the Etymology and Interpretation of Certain Words and Phrases in the Aśoka Edicts" BSOS. 6 545-48 1930-2

(1) *Parisā pi yute āñapayisati gaṇanāyam* RE III (Girnar)

(2) *Ta aja devānampriyasa divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janam* RE IV (Girnar)

(3) *Save kāle bhuṁjamānasa me paṭivedatha iti* RE VI (Girnar)

(i) *vacasi* = 'in the chapel (or temple)'.

(ii) *vinīta* = 'a path leading to the various parks'

414 WILSON, H H "On the Rock Inscriptions of Kapur-di-Giri, Dhauli and Girnar" JRAS 12 153-252 1850

The author was the first scholar to dispute connection between Buddhism and Aśoka's dhamma Cf the concluding observation on p 234f

415. WILSON, H H "Buddhist Inscription of king Priyadarśi" JRAS. 16.357-67 1856. Text, Trans. and Observations on the Bairat-Bhabra Edict
"Priyadarśi, whoever he may have been, was a follower of Buddha"

416 WINTERNITZ, M A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, (Eng. Tr) Calcutta. 1933 Appendix III Bhābru-Bairat Edict of Aśoka pp 606-609
"We shall therefore not be unduly bold in arguing from the Edict that, at the time when it was written, there was a canonical collection of Sutta and Vinaya texts in the Māgadhī language"

417 WOOLNER, A C Aśoka, Text and Glossary Punjab Univ. Orient Publ 2 parts Calcutta 1924
Reviews
S M Edwardes IA 55 180
T Michelson JAOS 46 264-65
J Charpentier JRAS 1926 135-37
Part I Introduction List of Inscriptions, Location of Rocks and Pillars Contents and Titles of the Edicts, pp ix-xviii, Scripts pp xviii-xx, Dialects, pp xx-xxii Text (in Roman Script) pp 1-52
Part II A complete Index of Asokan words pp 53-151 Index of Sanskrit roots pp 153-6

418 WOOLNER, A C "Quinquennial Circuits or Transfers of Aśoka's Officials" Journ Punj Univ Hist Soc 1 108-12 1932
Objections to Jayaswal's rendering of *anusamyāna* by 'transfer' (see above No 181).

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420 BUHLER, G WZKM 9 175ff
421 BÜHLER, G Academy 27th April, 1895 Preliminary note on the Nigliva Edict.
422 BÜHLER, G Anzeigen der phil.-hist Classes der Winer Akademie 7th Jan 1897
423 BUHLER, G Trans Vienna-Academy 1897 (Quoted by Smith, JRAS 1897 618)
424 DAVIDS, T W Rhys Academy 14th July 1877 p 37
425 FÜHRER Pioneer Dec 1896
Points out the importance of Pāḍeria inscription for the topography of ancient India and the sacred history of the Buddhists
426 MICHELSON, T AJP 1909 and 1910
427 MICHELSON, T TAPA 40
428 MORRIS Academy 1891
429 NEUMANN Trans of the Dīgha-Nikāya 2 225f, and R Accademia dei Lincei, Rendicanti, 22 695ff Discussion on *lāti* at Sahasram and the No 256
430 NOBEL, Joh Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 1924 26ff (For Bhābrū edict)
431 PISCHEL, R. Academy 11th Aug 1877 p 145 Forms *vivutha* and *vyuṭha* < Pāli *viuttha* and *vyuṭṭha* < Skt. *vyuṣita-* and *vyuṣṭa*.
432. PISCHEL R GGA 1881 p 1321 *samāja* = 'battue'
433 PISCHEL R SBA. 1904 807f (for Bhābrū edict).

434 SENART, E L'Epigraphie et l'Histoire Linguistique de l'Inde. Comptes rendus de l'Akadémie des Inscriptions 1886 pp 66-89

435 SENART, E JA. Sér 11 tom. 7 434f *lāti* = (cf K, VIII, F).

436 SENART, E Comptes rendus de l'Acad des Incriptions 1907 p. 25. For Sarnath Inscription

437 WELLER, F Asia Major 5 166 1930 (For Bhābrū edict)

438 Classical Philology 5

439 Journal des Savants 1877

440 The Canara High School Magazine I No 1 p 65ff, No 3 p 101ff

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SOME ADDITIONS

1 BARUA, B M Asoka And His Inscriptions Calcutta 1946

Part I deals with such subjects as Personal History, Empire, Administration, Dharma, Dharma-Vijaya, etc

Appendix Asoka and his Dhamma Culture by Dr Ishwarlal Topa

Part II deals with the following aspects of the inscriptions Bearings on Literature, Bearings on Dialects, Phraseology and Style, Grammar and Phonology

Review M A. MEHENDALE Social Welfare, 25th July, 1947

2 BARUA, B M "Asoka's Example And Brahman Animosity" Modern Review 87 59-62 1947

"Asoka does not seem to have interfered with the Varnasrama-dharma, he duly honoured and actively supported all sects, the Brahmanas and the Sramanas of all orders and denominations The sectarian caprices of certain later Brahmanist writers need not stand in the way of our appraisal of the shaping influence of Asoka's great example"

3 MAJUMDAR, B K "Asoka's Services to Buddhism" The New Review, 26 27-30 1947

The popularity of Buddhism all over India and outside due to the missionary activities of Aśoka

4 MEHENDALE, M A "The Message of Aśoka" Bharata Jyoti, November 10, 1946

Aśoka's ideas about *dhamma* and his contribution to the maintenance of religious harmony

5 MEHENDALE, M A "Aśoka va tatkālina Samskriti" (In Marathi) Chitramaya Jagat, November, 1947

Aśoka's teachings, his Administration, and the significance of the dharmacakra symbol

NOTE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY

An attempt is made here to classify the above Bibliography according to the subject matter of the entries therein The importance of arranging a Bibliography in an alphabetical order as above for ready reference need hardly be stressed The subject-wise classification given below of the above articles by giving references to their numbers in this Bibliography will help the reader to pick out those articles and works which

interest him most Incidentally this classification also indicates the various aspects from which these inscriptions could be studied.

I Text, translation and Notes (some of the articles give only the text or only the translation)

(a) Of all edicts together 26, 28, 34, 92, 101, 142(a-g), 171, 194, 206, 248, 269, 302, 334, 347, 373, 375, 417

(b) Of some or all Major Rock Edicts 21, 37, 44, 51, 54, 58, 59, 64 70, 76, 78, 172, 173, 175, 179, 195, 196, 263, 270, 282, 283, 306, 317, 318, 319, 322, 327-331, 337, 338, 340, 368(VII), 395

(c) Of some or all Major Pillar Edicts 37, 50, 52, 57, 71, 72, 119, 195, 214, 277, 279, 280, 320, 321, 332, 333, 392

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(e) Of Minor Pillar Edicts Sārnāth 47, 403, 408, 436 , Sāñci 47, 161 , Allahabad 47, 52, 163, 245, 321 , Rummindei 63, 84, 242, 255, 376 , Nigālī Sāgar · 63, 355

(f) Of Cave Inscriptions 53, 78, 174, 278, 323, 376

(g) Doubtfully attributed to Aśoka 83, 155, 223, 237, 366

II Discussions on some passages in inscriptions A passage occurring in a particular edict will have very probably been discussed where the whole edict is studied The entries numbered below only treat of some specific passages selected for discussion

(a) Major Rock Edicts General 45, 215 , Re III 125, 344, 369, 388, 413 , RE IV 86, 162, 413 , RE VI 413 , RE VIII 43(ii), 96 , RE XII 78(§6), Separate Edicts 78(§3), 244

(b) Major Pillar Edicts General 215 , PE IV 35, 140 , PE V 87 , PE VI 344 , PE VII 30(4), 344

(c) Minor Rock Edicts General 22, 27, 94, 109, 125, 252 , Rūpnāth 165, 260 , Bhābrā 151, 152, 358 , Maski 117

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III Notes on individual words Here also a particular word will have been probably discussed where the edict in which it occurs is studied The following list mentions only those articles where some specific words have been dealt with

(a) On various words 75, 78(§4, §5), 102, 133, 157, 164, 165, 176, 181, 182, 188, 189, 193, 194, 215, 227, 235, 242, 243, 244, 249, 271, 338, 393, 394, 404

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1 Also cf J Canedo, Zur wort- und Satzstellung in der alt- und mittle indischen Prosa

2 Also cf Buhler Indische Palaeography Eng Tr Appendix to IA 33 (1904), and G H Ojha. Palaeography of India.

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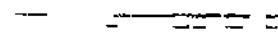
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SELECT OPINIONS

Select opinions of scholars on the study in Aśokan Phonology published by the same author in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol III, p 225ff

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1 " The best contribution in this volume is undoubtedly Mehendale's 'A Comparative Grammar of Aśokan Inscriptions' of which I read and admired almost every line . here we have an excellent comparative treatment of the phonology of Aśokan Inscriptions "

—Batakrishna Ghose, Calcutta

2 " Th ... of Indo Aryan
It gives a compar ... rious dialects of
Indo Aryan at the ... work lies in the
fact that it will s ... s and routes of
various sounds oc ...

... mu (Kashmir)

3 I ... you have
done well t ... a comparative
point of view ... previo efforts
in this direc ...

... ni Tal (U P)

4 " The ... ng Not
only are the ... ns of phonetic
phenomena a ...

... ochin State)